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Military Expert Recalls SALT I, II Talks

PM1711110789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Lieutenant General V.P. Starodubov, "military expert" and participant in the SALT talks, by own correspondent S. Guk under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Interview": "SALT: It All Began 20 Years Ago"; date and place unspecified; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Consultations on the limitation of strategic offensive arms began with a meeting of Soviet and U.S. experts in Helsinki 17 November 1969. In May 1972 the first documents were signed in Moscow: The Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures With Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.

For the first time in history a serious obstacle was placed in the way of the uncontrolled buildup of strategic nuclear arms.

Readers know little about the difficult search for compromise when the first accords—later given the name of SALT I—were being drawn up: Both sides agreed at the time not to publicize the details. IZVESTIYA turned to one of the participants in those talks—military expert Lieutenant General Viktor Pavlovich Starodubov—and asked him to "lift the veil" on the events of 20 years ago.

[Guk] Who was responsible for the initiative to hold talks on limiting strategic offensive arms? Was this the first attempt to "raise a barrier" and, if not, who was it who refused to enter into dialogue before this?

[Starodubov] A difficult question. For example, U.S. President L. Johnson's proposal of a mutual freeze on strategic arms in April 1964 is well known.

The Soviet Union did not accept this. Why? The reason will become clear if you recall the strategic situation of those years. The United States had just completed the program it began in 1958—the biggest in history—to build up its strategic forces.

In 1964 they had already deployed some 750 intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM], which was four times the number of such missiles in the Soviet Union. They had more than 200 submarine-launched ballistic missiles [SLBM]. The Soviet Union had only 2 such submarines with 32 missiles on board even by 1957. The Americans had built 540 heavy bombers—even now, the Soviet Union has no more than 160 of these. The United States was in a hurry to consolidate its strategic advantage with an agreement on a freeze. Naturally, the Soviet Union could not agree to this.

Proposals were also made by the Soviet side. For example, a mutual cut in military budgets. The United States refused.

The first accord on beginning talks on strategic arms was only reached on 1 July 1968—the day the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was signed. However, it took almost another 18 months for this accord to become reality. The sides have different explanations for the delay: The Americans say it was because of the events in Czechoslovakia, while we say it was because of the Americans' intention to complete its tests of MIRVed warheads and confront the Soviet Union with the fact that their deployment had begun.

Whatever, the so-called "preliminary meetings" between Soviet and U.S. delegations began in Helsinki 17 November 1969, which was the beginning of the SALT I talks.

[Guk] How did the discussions go? What was the main stumbling block, or were there many?

[Starodubov] First, the sides agreed that the talks would be held alternately in Helsinki (Soviet proposal) and Vienna (U.S. proposal); second, these talks would be confidential. Initially, the sides explained their intentions: They stated their maximalist positions.

For example, the U.S. delegation proposed that the strategic offensive arms liable to limitation include not only intercontinental strategic systems but also Soviet medium-range and "intermediate"-range missiles. Their explanation for this was that, although these missiles could not reach U.S. territory, they nevertheless posed a threat to U.S. forces in Europe.

The Soviet side insisted on limiting any nuclear arms capable of reaching the territory of the other side. It reasonably explained that it was all the same to Soviet people where the threat of nuclear weapons came from—either U.S. territory or the territory of West Europe.

Naturally, as the talks progressed, the positions of the two sides drew closer together, although not as quickly as one would have liked. The dialogue on limiting strategic offensive arms was particularly difficult: Even by 1972 the sides still had not found mutually acceptable formulas. At the same time, the drafting of the ABM Treaty was drawing to a successful conclusion. So it was decided to simultaneously work toward the signing of the ABM Treaty and negotiate an Interim Agreement that would in fact freeze ICBMs and SLBMs at the quantitative levels reached by the sides at the time. This was possible because, by the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies, the Soviet Union had achieved approximate strategic parity with the United States.

[Guk] Did you and the Americans only meet at the negotiating table or were there also unofficial conversations?

[Starodubov] In the initial stages the partners regarded one another with some caution. However, even then, "cocktail parties" were arranged after the plenary sessions, when it was supposed that there would be a free exchange of opinions. The extent of this "freedom" was interpreted in different ways by the different participants—diplomats, members of the military, and other specialists. It is not hard to guess that the military representatives exercised the greatest restraint in this respect. This in fact applied equally to the Americans. Glasnost was not yet in fashion. At that time, no one could imagine the inspection of military installations by the other side, as is now done in connection with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, or even the exchange of overall data on the number of Soviet and U.S. strategic arms, as was done in 1979 with the conclusion of SALT II.

However, there were also less formal contacts. I particuarly remember a joint trip by the Soviet and U.S. delegations up the Danube (at one of the Vienna stages) and a visit to the polar region of Finland. Although these events were intended as leisure activities for the delegations, work continued during them. For example, on the aircraft flying from Helsinki to Rovaniemi in spring 1972, the Soviet and U.S. participants in the talks managed to find a solution to one of the most complex questions of limiting zones of ABM deployment that was acceptable to both sides. This cleared an obstacle in the way of the ABM Treaty which the sides had long been unable to circumvent.

[Guk] The process of strategic offensive arms limitation is still going on today. What role has been played in this by the SALT I?

[Starodubov] At the SALT I talks the sides created the mechanism for negotiating what are the most delicate issues for any state—security and defense—and gained experience in discussion and compromise. The most important result of the talks was the conclusion of the ABM Treaty of unlimited duration, which set up the conditions for drawing up not only the Interim Agreement but also the SALT II Treaty (1979). Observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 is still a very important condition for concluding and subsequently observing a future treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms, which is being worked on at the current Geneva talks.

The ABM Treaty will also be necessary in the future, because 50-percent cuts are only the next major step toward the ultimate aim of the talks: Totally ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear self-destruction.

Arms Talks Delegate on Soviet-U.S. Relations

LD1411215389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1025 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Geneva, 14 Nov (TASS)—On 16 November it will be 20 years since the beginning of the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic arms. All of those years, the talks have invariably attracted the fixed attention not only of the USSR and the United States, but also throughout the world. However, one comes across various views as to their success. TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev asked Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks, to evaluate the significance and results of this dialogue.

Answer: In order to give a correct evaluation of the results achieved, one has to remember the political conditions through which this 20-year path lay. And they have, after all, changed. The talks began in the period of detente and were crowned even in the first stage by a major success: The treaty on limiting antiballistic defense systems (ABM), which retains its great importance to this day, a provisional agreement on certain measures in the area of limiting strategic offensive weapons, which established certain quantitative restrictions on them, and an agreement on the prevention of nuclear war, were concluded. It is difficult to imagine how the strategic situation would have developed if it had not been for these important accords.

Question: What then is happening now at the nuclear and space weapons talks?

Answer: Development is underway on a treaty on an approximately 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons on both sides. At the same time, accompanying documents are being developed which will be attached to the treaty. This is a very large and complex set of documents in which it is necessary to record not only accords on fundamental political issues, but also carefully elaborated procedures in order to ensure effective fulfillment of the treaty and to rule out the possibility of a situation where the parties might understand various of its clauses in different ways. In order to to this it is necessary to formulate them in precise legal language and to take into account a mass of military technological details. This is what we are in fact largely engaged in.

Work is, of course, being done to surmount the outstanding unresolved major problems. Among them I would primarily mention the problem of air- and sea-launched long-range cruise missiles. At the meeting between the Soviet and U.S. ministers of foreign affairs in Wyoming in September this year we put forward new proposals on this problem. They are now being studied by the U.S. side. Nor has the problem of mobile ICBM's been finally solved, although statements have been made by the U.S. side on the possibilty of steps toward a rapprochement with the Soviet Union's position.

Work is also continuing on the problem of ABM and space. In particular, we attach great significance to the achievement of a common understanding of what is prohibited and what is permitted under the ABM Treaty.

Question: As a direct participant in this work, what could you say about the atmosphere in which it is now taking place?

Answer: Such complex negotiations would, of course, be unthinkable without an atmosphere of businesslike interaction, and that in turn calls for mutual respect and trust. It is precisely such relations that have developed between us and the U.S. delegation.

Question: You have mentioned the Wyoming meeting between the two countries' ministers of foreign affairs. Did it influence the course of the Geneva negotiations?

Answer: As was recognized by both sides, the meeting in Wyoming opened the way to the conclusion of a treaty on strategic offensive weapons. This is the result of the Soviet Union advancing new approaches and proposals which are in fact aimed at clearing a path toward this treaty. The statement that the USSR will sign and ratify a treaty on strategic offensive weapons even if an accord on the problem of antiballistic missile defense and space is not reached by that time but the antiballistic missile treaty continues to be observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972, was a major step on our part. Our decision to completely eliminate the Krasnoyarsk radar station was confirmation of the seriousness of our intentions to preserve this treaty as one of the foundations for the maintenance of strategic stability and to clear a path toward concluding a treaty in strategic offensive weapons. The U.S. side was also informed of this in September this year.

Question: The forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting at the start of December will, in a certain sense, differ from such meetings in the past. This will be an interim, unofficial meeting. Do you expect it to exert an influence on the progress of the talks in Geneva?

Answer: Any meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the United States is such a major event that, irrespective of its character, it will inevitably have an effect on the development of the international situation. The forthcoming meeting will be no exception. I am certain that it will assist the development and the deepening of the positive trends which have taken shape in Soviet- U.S. relations in recent years, and which have such a favorable influence on the general warming of the political climate. I think that this also applies in full to the talks on nuclear and space weapons.

Delegate Cited on CFE Talks, Naval Cuts

PM1611113189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[I. Melnikov dispatch: "At the Fourth Round. Talks on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Have Resumed"]

[Text] Vienna, 10 Nov—The fall break at the talks on Conventional Forces in Europe [CFE] did not last long. Yesterday the delegations of 23 states representing the Warsaw Pact and NATO resumed work within the walls of Vienna's Hofburg Palace—now until the Christmas holiday. The fourth round of the forum has begun.

I will remind you briefly how the previous round ended. In the end the sides succeeded in recording the first block of text of the future agreement—a definition of artillery. In addition, the Warsaw Pact states put forward a number of proposals relating to aircraft, verification, exchange of information, and stabilizing measures.

"How, in your view, will the negotiating processs proceed over the next few weeks?" I asked O. Grinevskiy, head of the USSR delegation.

"Without appearing in the role of an oracle, I will only say which form strikes me as more real and expedient," the diplomat replied. "The talks may proceed on two floors at the same time, as it were. On the ground floor—intensive elaboration of the most complex of the unsolved problems—aircraft, personnel strength, regional divisions, reserve stockpiles of weapons. On the first floor—the continued editing of texts and agreeing of definitions.

"Which other questions might appear on the agenda? Undoubtedly, the agreeing of documents relating to the exchange of information and verification. This is the very basis of the future agreement. It is also necessary to begin work on agreeing to a document on stabilizing measures and to embark on agreeing the text of the treaty itself.

"The reduction in conventional arms must be accompanied by the certainty that there will be movement in return on limiting and reducing naval armaments. Nevertheless, the NATO side refuses categorically to hold negotiations on weapons at sea."

"Is there any hope, then, of reaching an agreement on European conventional forces?" journalists asked.

"There undoubtedly is," the USSR delegation head replied. "We want such an accord and do not lay down any conditions for reaching it. But the certainty that we will not be drawn into a naval arms race is no less necessary. This is why the task of beginning talks on limiting and reducing arms at sea is particularly acute today. The minimum that can be done in Vienna without delay is to extend confidence-building measures to naval forces."

The fourth session of the talks on confidence- and security-building measures on the European Continent began in the Hofburg Palace today. All the 35 countries which signed the Helsinki Final Act are participating in them.

Pact Multilateral Group Discusses CSCE Process

LD1511081389 Moscow TASS in English 0800 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—The multilateral group of representatives from the Warsaw Treaty member states on current mutual information had a regular meeting here on Tuesday [14 November].

The group discussed world responses to the results of the Warsaw meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers Committee (October 26-27, 1989).

The Warsaw Treaty representatives also discussed topical matters concerning the development of the CSCE process, including its ecological dimension, and the foreign policy activities of the allied countries.

Lushev, Lobov Discuss GDR Situation

LD1611210989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2002 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The processes of restructuring and the renewal of the political system taking place in the GDR affected neither the GDR's obligations as part of the Warsaw Pact's military coalition nor the function of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces. Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] General Secretary and GDR head of state Egon Krenz, chairman of the National Defense Council; Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Forces of the Warsaw Pact Organization; and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff, stated this today during talks in Berlin.

The interlocutors discussed the situation in the GDR. Here Krenz briefed them about the efforts for the renewal of socialism in the GDR and the preparations for the extraordinary SED party congress in December of this year.

Army General Lushev spoke in detail about the activities of the Joint Armed Forces Staff and the implementation of the joint defense doctrine of the participating states of the Warsaw Pact in their present stage.

Steps Toward CEMA Single Market Outlined

PM1511153589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[A. Kondrashov reply to reader's letter: "Will There Be A CEMA Common Market?"—first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "Recently people have been talking more and more often about the 'common European home.' As I understand it, it should be built. West Europe, in my view, is building its half faster and making considerable progress toward the 'single Europe of 1992.' What about the CEMA countries? Isn't it time for us to move forward more resolutely toward the creation, so to speak, of a common market for the CEMA countries? S. Viktorov, economist. Leningrad."

This is a natural question. The idea of setting up a united CEMA market, which was raised last summer at the 44th sitting of the CEMA session, has been, as it were, in the air for a while. Nonetheless, the interim working group to prepare a concept for restructuring the cooperation mechanism set up under the CEMA Executive Committee has done quite intensive work to translate this idea into practical terms. Experts from the working group and other CEMA organs now have something to submit to the CEMA governments and peoples for their examination. The documents they have prepared not only provide the theoretical outlines of a fundamentally new structure and system of multilateral ties, but also map out a whole series of specific steps for gradual progress toward a united market.

The CEMA countries see the essence of a united market in the gradual transition from centralized economic ties at government and ministry level to gradual cooperation between economic organizations without customs or other barriers.

All those interested in creating a united market in the country realize that its formation will be a long and complex process. It will require not only improvements to the mechanism of multilateral cooperation, but also the maturing of conditions in the CEMA countries' economies. It is planned to take important steps in the very near future. Thus in 1990-1991 it is planned to draw up plans or even conclude relevant agreements on the implementation of individual elements of a united market. For instance, on the procedure for giving economic organizations in interested countries access to their partners' markets, on coordinating the work of national and international wholesale fairs and sales exhibitions, and on setting up joint trade centers and own-brand stores.

In the same period it is planned to draw up proposals on setting up so-called united sectorial markets for certain types of goods. In the next 5-year period it is planned to conclude agreements on the creation of concerns and consortiums from the CEMA countries and to elaborate provisions on forming a free-trade zone and, subsequently, a customs union. In the next 2 years it is planned to elaborate proposals on setting up a multilateral clearing system.

It must be admitted that, owing to the different approaches taken by certain countries, the elaboration of a concept for restructuring the cooperation mechanism and for shaping a united market is still proceeding slowly and with difficulty. The draft documents, which it is planned to examine at the forthcoming 45th CEMA session, bristle with reservations from Hungary and a number of other countries. Romania is not directly participating in the work to draw up the concept at all, but now nobody overdramatizes the existence of different approaches. A normal and useful process of comparing views and interests is under way.

Joint UN Resolution Seen as End of Cold War

Petrovskiy Comments

LD1611213689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The UN General Assembly has unanimously approved the resolution of support for the United Nations which was proposed jointly by the Soviet Union and the United States.

[Begin recording] [Video shows correspondent Vsevolod Solovyev interviewing V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister]

[Solovyev] Vladimir Fedorovich, what is the essence of this resolution?

[Petrovskiy] The essence of the resolution which has just been unanimously adopted by the United Nations is that it orients the UN states toward practical deeds to strengthen that organization. It puts forward methods for conducting affairs and consultation and cooperation in all UN bodies without exception. The essence of the resolution does not only boil down to what it expresses in words. The point is that the Soviet Union and the United States have for the first time jointly come out in support of the United Nations, while 43 UN members representing the entire political spectrum of the organization, including the socialist, nonaligned, and Western countries have become coauthors of the resolution.

[Solovyev] Why did Moscow and Washington consider it necessary to come out jointly in support of the United Nations?

[Petrovskiy] This action was dictated by the processes of renewal and those charges occuring in the world under the impact of the new political thinking. In his address to the United Nations Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke in favor of the development of peaceful relations supported by the authority and potential of the United Nations. This met with the understanding of the present administration, and, at the meeting in Wyoming, USSR Foreign Minister Comrade Shevardnadze and U.S. Secratary of State Baker agreed that the USSR and the United States will act together in support of the United Nations. The initiative at the United Nations by our delegations was to give effect to that agreement.

[Solovyev] Finally, how will this resolution be reflected in the UN's activities?

[Petrovskiy] I think that it will have very great importance for the United Nation's subsequent activities, since the resolution puts an end to the cold war and at the same time marks the entry of the United Nations into the post-confrontational period and a period of peaceful cooperation and interaction between states and a collective joint quest for answers to all the issues facing the United Nations.

[Solovyev] Thank you. [end recording]

Kozyrev Hails Resolution

LD1611184889 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—The resolution adopted on Wednesday by the U.N. General Assembly which was proposed jointly by the Soviet Union and the United States was aimed at the future. Chief of the International Organisations Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Andrey Kozyrev said today.

A. Kozyrev said that for the first time in the history of the United Nations, the Soviet Union and the United States, the two powers that made a decisive contribution to creating the organisation, jointly advanced a major proposal to enhance the organisation's efficiency.

In the history of the United Nations, the history overburdened with confrontation and polemics and marked by the tendency to make pronouncements for effect, a page, associated with the period of the cold war, has been turned, the Soviet Foreign ministry representative said.

The General Assembly urges all states to abide by the resolution and to intensify their practical efforts towards ensuring international peace and security.

This initiative illustrates the noble effect of the Wyoming spirit not only on Soviet-American relations but also on international relations as a whole, Kozyrev said.

Kozyrev noted with satisfaction that the resolution met with a positive response from the entire international community. The importance of the fact that a consensus has been reached on so important a question of international affairs transcends the framework of United Nations activity, he said.

Moscow Hosts Conference on Military Policy

PM1711101989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Markushin report: "Dialogue for the Future. Notes from International Scientific Conference 'The New Thinking and Military Policy'"]

[Text] A period of tumultuous changes is the right time for intensive international cooperation between scientists. These words, spoken by the American C. Moskos at the first plenary sitting in the House of the Unions' Hall of Columns, perhaps expressed the shared desire of conference participants to contribute as much as possible to the cause in whose name they have assembled. There is no doubt that the conference is a major event. Scientists from more than 40 countries are represented there, an audience of 1,000 people or so. The debate has already lasted 2 days, the 3d and last day is still to come—as is, of course, some extensive work over many days to digest everything that was said.

But the initial impressions are already there, and it is well known that they often prove to be the most correct ones. Right here I would like to note one of the forum's highly important features—its businesslike efficiency. For years on end we were pretty well exhausted by academics' lengthy speeches which induced nothing but drowsiness. Now we have speakers mounting the rostrum one after the other and, in not more than 15 minutes, presenting things which they had probably pondered for years. This actually is in line with the dynamism and richness of the situation in which military policy is being reinterpreted. The essence of this reinterpretation was weightily expressed by Colonel General D. Volkogonov: Analysis of the past era and the assertion of nontraditional thinking.

Yes, history itself arms us with the experience of a planetary approach to the solution of complex problems. The anti-Hitler coalition, the successful overcoming of stalemate situations during the Korean War and the Caribbean crisis—surely these are examples when considerations of universal security prompted adversaries to reach for compromises for the sake of victory in the main issue? Moreover, they testify that the new thinking is no one's personal invention but the fruit of historical development.

Military policy is reflected in its most concentrated form in military doctrine. The core of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact countries is the prevention of war, renowned international affairs experts A. Kokoshin said in his speech. In his view, however, the neutralization of the military threat is by no means everything. This is necessary, but insufficient. Our technological laggardness is assuming threatening proportions, and it may impact on our Armed Forces' level of equippedness. As yet the nature of relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO certainly does not allow us to ignore the military threat. The direct threat of war has diminished. But an assessment of the threat of aggression must be conducted without approximations, without any underestimation. Nor should it be conducted on the basis of overestimation, which results in additional outlays and distortions in the army's structure.

What are the prospects of the East-West dialogue on security problems? That was one of the central questions being debated. Opinions differed. For example, the speech by U.S. representative R. Reilly indicated that the sides could arrive at agreement only on condition of a radical revision of its principles by the Soviet Union in the direction of a multiparty system, market economy and confederation, and also the transition from "buildup to reduction" of military might.

Is it possible to agree with this formulation of the question? No, it is not. No matter what tricks of the oratorial art might be used, the Soviet Union is not building up its army but is reducing it, is changing its structure. This is indicated by the real facts. These facts were cited convincingly enough in their speeches by Colonel General N. Chervov, chief of a General Staff directorate, and Major General G. Batenin, consultant for a CPSU Central Committee department. Indeed, the following examples speak for themselves: By 1991 our reductions will have amounted to two whole military districts, 24 motorized rifle and tank divisions, and 8 missile divisions. We have ceased the production of chemical weapons and are cutting back our military budget by 14 percent....

As for the demands to alter our social system in order to receive a "mandate" for serious discussion with the West, this does not at all square with the new thinking. Such a stance would hardly reflect the view on the disarmament problem held by the public in the United States and the West as a whole. In this context, I asked Doctor V. Sheelen [name as transliterated], a Dutch academic who chaired the plenary session, for his view. He said that R. Reilly expresses the opinion of right-wing conservative circles rather than that of the "average" American or the "average" West European. I think, he added, that some people in the West are rather afraid that the myth about the "Russian threat" might disappear—hence the desire to apply the brakes on the process of detente.

Conference Ends

LD1611145489 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—"Mutual trust and cooperation are needed in relations among states with differing systems to reduce the military danger, to promote nuclear disarmament and to establish a system of universal security," states an appeal to political and military leaders and to world scientists by the 3-day international scientific conference on new thinking and military policy that ended here today.

Contemporary international problems were discussed frankly and thoroughly at the conference by eminent scholars and political and military leaders from more than 30 countries. The main concern was the creation of a system of universal security, that guarantees stability, due respect for mutual interests and renounces fruitless confrontation.

"The 20th Century has clearly illustrated the indisputable truth that any use of armed force, even for the sake of the loftiest ideas, threatens the very existence of mankind," Major General Yuriy Kirshin, deputy head of the USSR Defence Ministry's Institute of Military History, told TASS. Commenting on the results of the conference, he noted that ever broader sections of the world public supported peace.

General Kirshin believes it is necessary to recruit actively professional military leaders and scientists, engaged in problems of military policy, into this process.

"The dialogue held in Moscow by representatives of differing political systems, devoted to mankind's vital problems, will undoubtedly play a positive role," General Kirshin said in conclusion.

U.S. Stance Seen Impeding Regional Settlements

PM1311162989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ye. Dolgopolov: "Regional Conflicts: Solutions and Impasses"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The new political thinking proceeds from the need, on the one hand, to halt and then reverse the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and, on the other, to extinguish hotbeds of regional conflicts and rule out the possibility of their recurring in the future. The Soviet Union, incidentally, has critically reassessed its past policy in the sphere of regional conflicts, when insufficiently substantiated decisions were sometimes made with regard to sending Soviet troops abroad, supplying arms and military hardware, and so forth.

It is well known that in the postwar years Soviet servicemen have been involved in combat operations in North Korea, Egypt, Vietnam, Syria, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and other countries. They honestly fulfilled their international duty and earned the respect and recognition of struggling peoples. Whether there existed in each specific case any other possibilities for reacting to the situation is another matter. Expressing the deepest respect and gratitude to the Soviet servicemen who served in Afghanistan, Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze said at the USSR Supreme Soviet session: "For the first time in many years, no Soviet serviceman is involved in military operations anywhere in the world—and, I am sure, none will be involved."

As a whole, as experience has shown, the introduction of troops—even if this is done with the aim of helping to defuse the situation—certainly cannot be regarded as a panacea.

Although regional conflicts vary in nature and in the nature of the conflicting forces, as a rule they arise on local grounds, as a result of contradictions engendered either by the colonial past, or by new social processes, or by throwbacks to the policy of aggression, or by a combination of all three. To make out that all these tangled contradictions are the result of East-West rivalry is not only wrong, it is also extremely dangerous.

Progress has now been made in the task of resolving crises in a number of regions. Primarily thanks to a constructive approach taking into account the legitimate interests of the sides involved and common human values. The policy of national reconciliation is the quintessence of this constructive approach. The essence of this policy is that the conflicting sides are given the opportunity to promote the solution of general national problems without any outside interference through political dialogue rather than via armed struggle, which, as a rule, is futile.

Afghanistan and Cambodia, Central America and Southwest Africa, the Near East and the Korean peninsula—these and other regions of the globe have become a kind of testing ground where attempts are made in specific forms to find approaches to a peaceful solution of their problems.

Here it is possible to speak of a general pattern of settlement. First, dialogue is begun between the sides through mediators. Talks are also conducted with their help. In some cases the United Nations acts as the intermediary (the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and also the Iran-Iraq talks), while in others this role is played by groups of countries (the Contadora Group and the Support Group, and the ASEAN countries) or individual states. Second, the withdrawal of troops by the country involved in the conflict is balanced by political treaty obligations guaranteeing its interests. This approach can be seen in the Afghan, Cambodian, and South African situations. Third, a guarantee system is used. The great powers and also the United Nations act as guarantors of compliance with agreements.

The military aspects of the peaceful political settlement of conflicts include the withdrawal of foreign troops from the relevant countries within a set deadline, the reduction or total removal of groups of foreign military advisers and specialists, the reduction or complete termination of foreign military aid, and so forth. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and Vietnamese troops from Cambodia is complete, and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola—from where Republic of South Africa troops were earlier withdrawn—is going according to schedule. The development of joint proposals to maintain countries' armed forces in the corresponding regions at a level sufficient only for defense purposes is gaining increasing significance.

At the same time, these positive processes have not yet become universal and irreversible in nature. There are forces striving to lead regional conflicts into a bloody deadlock.

Take Afghanistan, for example, which started the break in the chain of regional conflicts. The Soviet Union and the republic's government are fully and scrupulously complying with the pledges they have made. At the same time, the aggression against Afghanistan has not only not ceased, it has even grown on a new scale. To date there have been no radical changes in the policy of the United States, which is still sticking to the policy of trying to resolve the Afghan problem by military means. The United States and other Western countries are giving military and financial aid to the Afghan opposition on a broad scale, while the Pakistani military is becoming increasingly involved in the conflict inside Afghanistan. All this is merely prolonging the totally unwarranted bloodshed.

In Cambodia, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops has created favorable conditions for the achievement of national reconciliation. However, so far real steps have not been taken to terminate all foreign aid to Pol Pot's followers and other Khmer opposition groupings. This has encouraged the opposition to intensify their military operations.

In Central America the accords are making it possible to progress in the task of resolving the crisis. However, the U.S. position continues to have a negative impact on this process. Washington still has certain plans for Nicaragua involving the use of the contras, who have recently stepped up their terrorist activities again. The situation in this country has been greatly exacerbated as a result.

It must be said that the normalization of the situation in the region is being impeded by U.S. attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of some other countries as well. The recent attempted military coup in Panama, during which the rebels coordinated their actions with U.S. troops in the Panama Canal Zone, is particularly significant in this connection.

In Southwest Africa, where the way has been opened to implementing the process of granting independence to Namibia in practice, those on the extreme right who are opposed to giving Africans access to real power have certainly not laid down their arms. This is hampering the establishment of lasting peace in the region. The process of resolving the Near East conflict and the problem at the heart of it—the Palestinian problem—is making extremely heavy weather. The question of the peaceful reunification of Korea, which was split more than 40 years ago, has long been urgent. One of the obstacles here is the presence of U.S. troops deployed in the south of Korea.

There are a number of other conflicts whose continuation is having a negative impact on the situation in various regions of the world and on the international situation as a whole. This is a source of well founded alarm among all people of good will. The times urgently demand that we make more active efforts to transcend the narrow limits of the localization of conflicts, in favor of achieving a qualitatively new level in forestalling and preventing such conflicts and ensuring a stable world order.

'Nondiscriminatory' Asia-Pacific Cooperation Urged

PM1611142789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 89 Second Edition p6

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov article under the rubric "View From Moscow": "In Favor of Integration, but Without Discrimination"]

[Excerpts] Our multifaceted, contradictory and, at the same time, integrated, interdependent world is becoming increasingly aware of its communality and is developing an increasingly acute sense that it is impossible to resolve the vital problems of the time without joint efforts. This is clearly demonstrated by the all-European process, which is confidently gathering momentum and constantly embracing new spheres: From military detente to ecology and humanitarian cooperation.

Can this awareness of world communality engender similar trends in East as well as West? Is it not time for all the states concerned to combine their efforts in order to boost what could be called the all-Asian process? This idea lies at the heart of the initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. They essentially laid the foundations of the Soviet Union's present Asian and Pacific doctrine, which accords with the principles of the new political thinking, the Soviet Union's long-term national interests, and the real trends and processes in this part of the world. The aim of the program is to lower the level of military confrontation in the Asian and Pacific region and create an atmosphere of trust and a sense of general security.

Since the Vladivostok-Krasnoyarsk platform was announced, an increasing number of preconditions for its successful implementation have appeared. [Passage omitted]

The Washington administration has supported the idea of a "new Pacific partnership." According to U.S. Secretary of State Baker, "any community of countries in the Pacific Ocean basin must recognize the differences in social and economic systems and the different levels of development reached by the countries in the region."

This would appear to be the foundation for a far-sighted, nondiscriminatory approach to the creation of negotiating structures in the Asian and Pacific region. In practice, however, we are once again faced with political apartheid, the division into "clean" and "unclean." After disputes behind the scenes, the list of participants in the Asian and Pacific Economic Forum has been reduced to the formula "six plus six" (the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Korea plus the ASEAN members). Only the ministers of these 12 countries assembled recently in Canberra to exchange opinions on the organizational structure of the forum, the regularity of its conferences, and the location of its secretariat. China was not among those invited, despite the fact that its trade turnover with countries in this region reached almost $60 billion last year. The Soviet Union also was not invited, although, according to Australian leaders, they have no fundamental objections to Moscow participating in the discussions on economic cooperation in the region.

I think the times are now past when we took a suspicious view—or, to be more precise, a hostile view—of West European integration simply because we were not included. Hopefully, the meeting in Canberra will be a step in the direction of collectively discussing regional problems. I would also like to emphasize another point: There is not really any future in combining efforts to solve these problems on a selective basis—and certainly not on a discriminatory basis.

The organizers of the meeting in Canberra say that their aim is not a closed trading bloc but the free movement of goods, capital, and technology without protectionist barriers. May it be so. But it is hard to develop trade and economic cooperation without overcoming military-political confrontation. There is a need in the military sphere for confidence-building measures that can only be worked out together, on the basis of multilateral consultations (especially in the Asian and Pacific region, where there is not one but several centers of military confrontation). Our time demands the real internationalization of efforts. This concerns not only security problems but also environmental protection, elimination of the consequences of natural disasters, prevention of incidents at sea and in the air, and measures against international terrorism.

Integration and the combining of efforts by different states and peoples is a sign of the times. But this process could be counterproductive if founded on discrimination.

USSR Embassies Hold October Revolution Fetes

PM1311100789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "To Mark October"]

[Text] 9 Nov—Receptions to mark the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution were held in USSR embassies in foreign countries. They were attended by:

in Berlin—E. Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

in Budapest—M. Szuros, temporary president of Hungary, and M. Nemeth, member of the Hungarian Socialist Party Presidium and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers;

in Sofia—T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council;

in Warsaw—Polish President W. Jaruzelski, T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, and M. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee;

in Bucharest—M. Manescu, member of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee Political Executive Committee and deputy chairman of the Romanian State Council; L. Ciobanu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee; and I. Soian, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and Romanian foreign minister;

in Belgrade—A. Mitrovic, deputy chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, and D. Jevtic, chairman of the Serbian government;

in Havana—F. Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and president of the republic's councils of state and ministers;

in Ulaanbaatar—J. Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary party Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium, and D. Sodnom, chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers;

in Hanoi—Do Muoi, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers;

in Beijing—Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council; PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen; and U Xiuqiuan, chairman of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society;

in Vientiane—Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo members Sali Vongkhamsao, Sisavat Keobounphan, and Maichantan Sengmani and Politburo Candidate Members Oudom Khatti-Gna and Sai-Gnakon Choummali;

in Kabul—Afghan President Najibullah, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee;

in Helsinki—Finnish President M. Koivisto and Prime Minister H. Holkeri;

in Vienna—Austrian President K. Waldheim; Foreign Minister A. Mock; R. Peder [name as transliterated], first president of the National Council (parliament); F. Muhri, president of the Austrian Communist Party; and W. Silbermayer, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Austrian Communist Party Central Committee;

in Paris—French Prime Minister M. Rocard;

in London—British Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs D. Hurd;

in Bonn—Bundestag Chairman R. Suessmuth;

in Athens—Greek Foreign Minister Y. Papoulias, Greek Defense Minister T. Deyiannis; C. Mitsotakis, chairman of the "New Democracy" party; K. FLorakis, chairman of the Political Committee of the coalition of left-wing and progressive forces; and A. Tsaldaris [name as transliterated], president of the parliament;

in Brussels—F. Swaelen, president of the Belgian Senate, Guy Spitaels, chairman of the Socialist Party (Francophones), and Louis Van Geyt, chairman of the Belgian League of Communists;

in Valetta—Maltese President Ch. [initial as transliterated] Tabone, and Prime Minister E. Fenech Adami;

in Nicosia—Y. Vasiliou, president of the Republic of Cyprus, and V. Lyssarides, chairman of the House of Representatives (parliament);

in Washington—L. Eagleburger, first deputy U.S. secretary of state; C. Powell, chairman of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff; L. Sullivan, secretary for health and human services;

in Managua—Nicaraguan Vice President S. Ramirez; and H. Ruiz, member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front National Directorate;

in Luxembourg—E. Khenniko-Shopges [name as transliterated], chairman of the Luxembourg Chamber of Deputies; and J. Poos, deputy chairman of the government and foreign minister of Luxembourg;

in Bogota—G. Vieira, general secretary of the Colombian Communist Party Central Committee;

in Addis Ababa—Berhanu Bayeh, member of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee Politburo and Ethiopian foreign minister; and Yusuf Ahmed, deputy chairman of the State Council and chairman of the Ethiopian-Soviet Friendship and Solidarity Committee;

in Damascus—Syrian Vice President Muhammad Zuhayr Mashariqa; Ba'th Party Deputy General Secretaries 'Abdallah Al-Ahmar and Sulayman Qaddah; and Prime Minister Mahmud al-Zu'bi;

in Baghdad—Sa'adi Mahdi, chairman of the Iraq National Council (parliament);

in Cairo—Egyptian Prime Minister A. Siqdi;

in Georgetown—Guyanese Prime Minister H. Green;

in La Paz—Bolivian Foreign Affairs and Worship Minister C. Iturralde; and F. Kieffer, president of the National Congress chamber of deputies;

in Tunis—Abderrahim Zouari, general secretary of the Constitutional Democratic Association Party; Tunisian Foreign Minister Abdelhamid Escheikh; Muhamed Harmel, general secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party; and PLO Executive Committee Members Faruq Qaddumi and Yasir 'abd-Rabbuh;

in Amman—Ahmad Kerim al-Lawzi, chairman of the Jordanian Senate; and Marwan al-Qasim, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Jordan;

in Aden—A.S. al-Bid, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee;

in Islamabad—Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan; Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto; Senior Minister Nusrat Bhutto; Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan; and General Mirza Aslam Beg [name as transliterated], chief of staff of the ground forces;

in Jakarta—acting Foreign Minister of Indonesia and Minister of Defense and Security L.B. Murdani;

in Katmandu—Nepalese Prime Minister M.M. Singh, and Foreign Minister S.K. Upadhyaya;

in Antananarivo—A. Ratsifekhera [name as transliterated], member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, and Foreign Minister J. Bemananjara;

in Maputo—P.M. Mocumbi, member of the Mozambique Liberation Front Party Central Committee Politburo and Mozambique foreign minister;

in Cotonou—Vincent Guezodje, member of the Revolutionary Party of the People of Benin Central Committee Politburo;

in Luanda—Afonso Domingos Pedro Van-Dunem, member of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary for international questions;

in Accra—W. Mensah-Wood, member of the Provisional National Defense Council [PNDC] and commander of the Ghana people's army; A. Dadzie, secretary of the PNDC office, E. Don-Artur [name as transliterated], secretary of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation; and Kh. Yakhaya, PNDC secretary (minister) for questions of mobilization and productivity;

in Kampala—Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere, second deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Uganda;

in Lusaka—Zambian Foreign Minister L. Mwananshiku.

Receptions were held at the USSR permanent UN mission in New York, attended by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar; Joseph Garba [surname as transliterated], chairman of the 44th session of the UN General Assembly; and G. Hall, national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, at the USSR permanent mission attached to a UN department and other international organizations in Geneva, and also at the USSR embassies in Rome, Madrid, Berne, Stockholm, Oslo, Copenhagen, The Hague, Tokyo, Canberra, Singapore, Mexico, Lima, Montevideo, Manila, Yangon, Algiers, Tehran, Yaounde, Lagos, Brazzaville, Ouagadougou, Conakry, and other capitals.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Letter on Mideast Sent to Baker

LD1611145689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1329 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Washington, 16 Nov (TASS)—Gennadiy Tarasov, aide to the USSR minister of foreign affairs and special representative on Near East affairs, has met Dennis Ross, director of the Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. State Department, and handed to him a letter from E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, to James Baker, U.S. secretary of state.

In the course of exchanging views, which took place afterwards, special attention was focused on the state of affairs in settling the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Soviet side pointed to the necessity of an all-embracing solution to the conflict in the region with participation by all interested sides on the basis of a balance of interests of both the Arabs, including the Palestinians, and Israel. In this context it was noted that no real settlement can take place without taking into account the role of the PLO. It was stressed that the peacemaking efforts within the framework of multivariant approaches aimed at unblocking the Arab-Israeli conflict should, on the whole, be targeted at the preparation and convocation of an international conference on the Near East.

Bush Cited on USSR, E. Europe Developments

PM1711113789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "'Identifying Areas of Mutual Advantage'"]

[Text] Washington, 16 Nov—The Republican Administration's policy toward labor unions has been criticized at the 18th Congress of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) which is under way in the U.S. capital, and the White House offensive against their rights and mounting corruption among government officials have been condemned.

On Wednesday the Congress was addressed by G. Bush. The last time a U.S. president addressed an AFL-CIO congress was 10 years ago, when J. Carter did so. The present head of the White House devoted his speech to Administration policy toward the U.S. union movement. G. Bush also dwelt on international issues, declaring that he welcomes the major changes taking place in the USSR and the countries of East Europe.

Referring to his upcoming unofficial meeting with M.S. Gorbachev off Malta, the head of the U.S. Administration said: "We are not meeting to negotiate the future of Europe. The peoples of East Europe are themselves frankly speaking their mind on this future." The President stressed that he intended to work for the advancement of this "process of reforms and democracy." "I want to talk to President Gorbachev about the possibility of moving beyond containment in relations between the United States and the USSR, of identifying areas of mutual advantage in our relations," G. Bush noted.

Crowe Sees Declining U.S. Influence in Europe

PM1611110989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "To Reduce or Not?"]

[Text] Washington, 10 Nov—The rapid and radical changes in the Soviet Union and East European countries have led to sharp disagreements within NATO, Admiral William Crowe, retired, former chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, has declared. At the same time that some people are campaigning for a cautious approach, others are advocating a reduction in NATO's military might, he said at hearings in the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress.

In Crowe's opinion, Washington's attempts to secure from its NATO allies an increase in military spending will not produce a result. "Whatever we do," he emphasized, "West European countries will spend less on defense. In the final analysis, NATO will probably turn into a looser organization, in which U.S. participation may be reduced." This will lead to a weakening of U.S. influence in Europe, Crowe said.

Armenian Premier Receives U.S. Ambassador

NC1411125089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 14 Nov 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN program]

[Text] Jack Matlock, ambassador of the United States of America to the Soviet Union, and his wife, were received at the Armenian Council of Ministers on 11 November.

The paper has published an (?ARMENPRES) report which states that during the conversation, Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the republic's council of ministers, recounted the problems facing the republic as a result of the earthquake and the [words indistinct] from the Azerbaijan republic. He spoke about ways to extricate the economy from the prevailing situation. He gratefully referred to that enormous assistance and solidarity shown to the Armenian people by the Soviet republics and international community. Comrade Markaryants highly rated the help provided by the U.S. Government and the American [word indistinct] public and other organizations which are helping our earthquake-stricken republic.

At his guest's request, Comrade Markaryants dwelled on the problems which [words indistinct]. He said the republic is giving priority to the housing, employment, and social (?services) to the earthquake-stricken population and refugees. At the request of the ambassador, he (?explained) the stance of the Soviet Armenian government toward the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Comrade Markaryants assured the U.S. ambassador that the Armenian Government is ready to welcome all American businessmen who wish to cooperate with the republic and develop future ties in all aspects of economy, science, and culture.

Later, the ambassador and his wife visited Edzhmiatsin and met Vazken I, the Catholicos of all Armenians. The Catholicos familarized the guest with the history of the acceptance and spread of Christianity in Armenia.

The ambassador also toured the republic's capital. He saw the sports complex and visited the monument to the victims of the 1915 genocide where he placed flowers.

Jack Matlock and his wife left Yerevan that same day.

Northeast Asia

Yakovlev, Delegation Continue Visit to Japan

Yakovlev on Ties, Perestroyka

LD1611183789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo, 16 Nov (TASS)—A.N. Yakovlev, USSR people's deputy, Politburo member, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who heads the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, which is staying in Japan, held a press conference at the National Press Club. He said, in particular:

Substantive meetings and conversations took place, distinguished by a mutual striving for deepening mutual understanding. The following general conclusion can be drawn: The need has become more obvious to develop bilateral relations much more actively, to look even more intently into their future, and to forecast the problems they will raise and the opportunities they will bring. This is a good sign. It does not mean that our relations are free of worries and alarm. But the interests of the two countries and time itself demand that the principles of cooperation, goodneighborliness, and trust should triumph in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Taking the opportunity, I would like to touch upon certain issues which are evoking great interest in Japan and the whole world, too.

On perestroyka. I understand that it is difficult now to give any new information about its development, because your press has been giving quite a broad and, in general, objective coverage of what has been going on, although in a somewhat dramatized key when describing the acuteness of processes. This, though, is neither bad nor is it, moreover, your fault. The same phenomenon can be observed in our press, too. Soviet journalists are performing fully the function of surgeons who forget mercy for the sake of life. True, competence and balance do not always prevail but, on the whole, our media are like a powerful purifying stream which forces up to the surface all the foam that has built up over the winter of stagnation.

Perestroyka is a major social experiment, whose results still are not predictable today. The process of renewal inevitably extends beyond the bounds which are initially envisaged. It is arousing political forces of various types—both left and conservative forces, both moderate and most extreme forces. One does not have to be a politician with particular wisdom to understand just how complex are the conditions which have formed in the country. And we, initiating perestroyka, have consciously agreed to difficult tests, since there was simply no other choice.

The model of socialism of the thirties has long since outlived itself and requires replacement. The mistakes and deformations evoked in the past by this model, which were not corrected promptly but spread and accumulated, have imposed themselves upon the course of events. The situation is also aggravated by the errors already committed during the reform, and likewise by the difficulties and the tension produced by most deep social transformations, which can never proceed painlessly anywhere.

The new party and state leadership has chosen a difficult and, in a sense, dramatic road—a road of cardinal political and economic reforms.

We are currently experiencing the difficulties of the transition period. It is important to understand that a crisis of development is not a dead end. It is important to understand this, so as not to turn off the only correct road—that of genuine democratic transformations. But it is also necessary for the entire world community to understand this, since the destiny of humankind is an integral whole.

The Soviet Union is becoming an increasingly open society. We do not conceal our problems, for us to become aware of them and to recognize them openly and at a nationwide and worldwide level means to become stronger in character and purer in spirit and to gain a new confidence.

A dogged quest for non-standard answers to difficult questions is going on in the country. Government by monologue is gradually turning into government by dialogue. This is the very meaning contained in the original formula of Russian socialism—the soviet means dialogue, a struggle among varying opinions, an argument on the basis of equality, the only way that the truth can be revealed.

It is this very form of pluralism which is gradually being affirmed in the institutions of authority. It is in this very way that the model of democratic socialism—which is true socialism—is being shaped.

In essence, perestroyka is not only a public acknowledgement of the crisis of the schematic, simplified, and utopian image of the ways of achieving social and national justice, that long-standing impulse of revolutions, but also a platform for transformations leading to genuine freedom of man, humanism of social relations, and the triumph of the morality common to all mankind.

Today we know that the guarantee against any arbitrary rule is democracy, and nothing else.

This is the first thing. But this is not all. For democracy will remain a whim of the naive unless it is based on the firm soil of healthy economic relations subordinated to the reasonable interests of man.

What does this mean? In short:

—It is the dismantling of command methods and systems of management;

—A complete and irrevocable break with the comfortable but socially stultifying detachment from the results of one's labor, a break with economic irresponsibility;

—The abolition of the system of levelling [uravnilovka] and dependence [izhdivenchestvo] in all their forms;

—Recognition of the free market and fully-fledged commodity-money relations, the equal existence of, and competition between, different forms of ownership, the liberation of personal initiative and enterprise.

The economic reform is progressing with the greatest difficulty of all. This is natural: It is a big country and the problems are grave. The most difficult thing of all is breaking down the psychology of dependence. For decades people have been trained to be passive and to consume: They have grown accustomed to expect blessings "from above," and today are simply demanding from the state: "Give us the promised better life!" But ultimately, only people themselves can give such a life: through personal labor, personal initiative, and energy.

Perestroyka in politics is the creation of a state based on the rule of law with a clear separation of the functions of public and state bodies and organizations, with legislative, executive, and judicial authority divided and with the maximum development of all forms of self-government. We realize that the new legal norms require changes in consciousness, and for this decades of democratic development will be needed.

Perestroyka in the social sphere is the affirmation of the democratic model of social development. We were the first to introduce into practice very wide-ranging social guarantees. But, evidently, we missed the moment when they turned into a factor of dependence. For a long time we felt that we had, on the whole, resolved all social problems and did not notice that, alongside this, social restrictedness and legal defenselessness had been revived in a new guise.

At a time when the science of socialism was turning into a kind of religion in our country, others were using its conclusions better. I got the impression that Western entrepreneurs were studying Marx's "capital" more attentively than some of our economists. For us this distillation of a powerful intellect was transformed into a holy book; capitalists made it a practical text-book. Justly fearing the spread of revolution, the capitalists opted for considerable social and legal concessions to the working man.

Today our economy is directed toward solving social problems, first and foremost. For the first time in half a century, the production of goods and services is proceeding considerably faster than the production of the means of production. Capital investments have been redistributed in favor of housing and social-cultural construction. A new law on pensions has been prepared for examination. The conversion of military production facilities to civilian ones is also an example of social policy.

Perestroyka is already irreversible, first and foremost because people, and their awareness and level of activity, have changed. The critical side of perestroyka is acquiring those natural proportions which should exist in a normally developing society.

We do not view our intiatives and complexities outside the context of present-day world development. All countries—great and small—are formed on the planet organically, and the results of their interaction are greater than the mere sum of their efforts. The world is becoming ever more aware of itself as a single organism. Painful tension in one organ cannot fail to affect the others.

The understanding of the world as an interdependent system is the basis of the new political thinking. It prompts us to restructure life inside the country, while at the same time rethinking our relations with the outside world. We need the future, and the future needs us. It depends on our tolerance of each other's special characteristics and on the breadth and depth of our general world outlook.

Perestroyka is the socialist variant of a response to the challenge of the times. It has come as a surprise only to those who had become convinced that our social system was a dried-up, dead tree, no longer capable of yielding new shoots and bearing fruit; a society which had exhausted its creative potential.

We can see that many people in the world are reacting very actively and positively towards perestroyka. I am convinced that it is tackling the problems of not only Soviet society; it is also seeking answers to questions facing the whole world community of peoples.

It is only together that we can solve the problems of the nuclear threat and of global ecology.

It is only together that we can learn how to make wise use of resources, so that man will be provided for and nature preserved.

It is only together that we shall succeed in overcoming the stereotypes of the culture of violence which have developed over thousands of years and move toward political means of solving social problems.

It is only together that we shall be able to combine development with social justice, without which any economic progress will turn society into a powder-keg or a desert.

In the realization of all these truths lies the philosophical and motivating roots of the new approach to foreign policy, an approach nourished by the realization that the world gains from a multiplicity of ways of development, and that contradiction—that natural engine behind progress—gives cause for interaction and mutual understanding, and not for the degradation and destruction of man.

The new political thinking is meant to lead to an awareness of the essential nature of the 20th century as a gigantic watershed of history when, in convulsions, spasms, and agonies which threaten to bring down the whole of mankind, the epoch of many thousands of years of violence and morally unbridled policies becomes—but has not yet become—a thing of the past.

The last decade of the 20th century, the most creative and the most tragic one in human history is coming. And we are asking ourselves whether the 21st century will open up more spacious and clearer vistas, or will it be the last page in the biography of homo sapiens?

The answer to this question depends on human prudence, on whether man is able to rise up to a new level of civilization, and on the scale which the new global thinking assumes.

Assessing the state of Soviet-Japanese relations and prospects for their development, I shall stress above all that the USSR attaches equal importance to good-natured and open relations with all its neighbors. We regard all areas of our foreign policy as equally imporatant: Europe, Asia, the Pacific and the United States.

The situation that has taken shape in Soviet-Japanese relations can be described as follows: The positive is being gradually accumulated. The political dialogue has become more active. This is already a dialogue, rather than two independent monologues. It has become more substantive and oriented towards seeking a way toward new frontiers of mutual understanding. Trade, economic, scientific, and technical ties are developing. Progress is noticeable in the cultural and humanitarian spheres.

It is necessary to patiently and consistently clear a path toward concluding a peace treaty on the basis of a further deepening in Soviet-Japanese relations, and of a building-up of their volume and quality in all spheres.

We would like to hope that the Japanese side, too, will be guided by the same desire, since, as an Eastern saying goes, two hands are needed to clap.

In conclusion, A.N. Yakovlev answered questions from correspondents.

Delegation Tours Kyoto

LD1611205189 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Kyoto November 16 TASS—A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, visiting Japan at the invitation of its parliament, arrived in the old Japanese capital city of Kyoto today.

The delegation, led by Soviet Communist Party Politburo member and Chairman of the CPSU Central Committee's International Policy Commission Aleksandr Yakovlev, familiarised themselves with places of interest in Kyoto. They visited a Shimazu medical equipment factory and attended an Urasenke school tea ceremony.

The prefectural authorities held a reception on the occasion of the Soviet parliamentary delegation's visit. Welcoming the guests, Kyoto Prefecture Governor T. Aramaki said that Soviet-Japanese parliamentary exchanges promote the development of relations between the two countries.

He praised the broadening Kyoto-Kiev twin town relations.

In his reply, Yakovlev said it was important to broaden and deepen friendly contacts betwen the two countries at a regional level, which favourably influence the development of Soviet-Japanese relations.

The head of the delegation then met leaders of the Osaka Prefecture's youth chamber.

Nikolay Solovyov, the Soviet ambassador to Japan, accompanied the delegation.

'Vremya' Features Kyoto Visit

LD1611221189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The visit of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, headed by Comrade Yakovlev, to Japan is continuing.

[Correspondent V.Tsvetov, identified by screen caption] [Video shows Yakovlev and other members of the Soviet delegation visiting a Japanese imperial palace and its grounds] It would be unforgiveable to visit Japan and not to even briefly familiarize oneself with Japanese culture. Therefore, the delegation made time to look around the architectural complex of the imperial palace in Kyoto. It is valued for the fact that this building, erected 1,200 years ago, can give one some idea of traditional Japanese aesthetics which is distinguished by simplicity and, at the same time, elegance. But even here, very far from Moscow, the members of the delegation remember domestic affairs. [passage omitted]

In Kyoto, the delegation familiarized itself with the production of a new generation of laser and ionic technology and of biotechnological and opto-electronic equipment at the works of the Shimadzu firm. The firm's management was not indifferent to the statement of Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev that talks about the conclusion of a trade and economic agreement between the USSR and the European Community are drawing to an end. South Korea and other Asian and Pacific countries are also seeking for themselves a spot in the Soviet market. It will be difficult for anyone who comes late to find a new niche in that market. Judging by the cordiality with which the Soviet delegation was received at the works, the management of the Shimadzu firm is not planning to be among those who arrive late. [Video shows delegation, with Yakovlev prominent, inspecting various equipment]

Also today, the members of the delegation met with representatives of the business circles of the city of Kyoto.

Delegation Meets Business Leaders

OW1611194789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] A group of Soviet parliamentarians now on a visit to Japan met with leaders from Japanese business circles in Tokyo on 15 November. They discussed economic cooperation and trade issues between the two countries.

While noting that the two countries have considerable great potential, both sides stressed that they should make coordinated efforts.

On the same day the head of the group of parliamentarians visiting Japan—Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee—held talks with representatives of the [Japan] Communist Party and the Socialist Party as well as former Prime Minister Nakasone.

Japanese, Siberian Mayors Discuss Relations

LD1211105989 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Yamagata November 12 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Nikolay Geronin:

The development of goodneighbourly, multilateral ties between the Soviet Union and Japan is the main topic of the 12th meeting of the chairmen of executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies from eastern Siberia, the far east and mayors from the western coast of Japan. The forum opened in Yamagata, north of Honshu Island, today.

The meeting is expected to focus on ways to expand cooperation between the public of the two regions of the Soviet Union and Japan, to intensify exchanges in culture, sports and science. Much attention is paid to establishing and extending trade and economic relations between the Soviet and Japanese cities.

Development of ties between the youth of eastern Siberia, the far east and western coast of Japan, exchange of experience and cooperation in the protection of the environment also feature prominently at the meeting.

The current get-together helps further extend mutual understanding between Japanese and Soviet cities, contributes to strengthening world peace and economic development of the two countries, said Honjo Mayor Yoshikazu Kotsugai. "We should seek ways leading to co-existence and prosperity of the two countries which are washed by the same Sea of Japan."

Perestroyka is underway in the Soviet Union under the guidance of Mikhail Gorbachev, said Maizuru Mayor Masato Machii. In addition to the economy, the whole life of the country is being restructured. Perestroyka is a truly historic cause. The USSR seems to exert more efforts than ever to improve relations with western countries, including Japan. It feels like a large wall dividing the peoples of the two countries is being demolished.

"We respect the hopes of the Japanese people, its universal human strivings and rejoice whenever we meet understanding and respect," said Khabarovsk Mayor Aleksandr Panchenko, who leads the Soviet delegation. "It is these features, understanding and respect, that come to characterise the social atmosphere in relations between the countries and peoples at this very turbulent and tense time at the end of the century. Perhaps, we had to reach that brink of arms stockpiles, the Chernobyl tragedy—after all, people were not stopped by the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—to realise the limit of the accumulation of evil and agree to trust, treaties and disarmament."

"The Japanese businessmen are interested in cooperation with Siberian regions," said Novosibirsk Mayor Ivan Indinok. "It is also known that we are still viewed as a source of raw materials. Besides, Japan has many restrictions and bans on trade with the USSR. It seems that Japanese mayors could help change the longstanding wrong views about us and remove the unjustified obstacles in the way of trade and economic cooperation."

Messages of greeting from Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama and Soviet Ambassador to Japan Nikolay Solovyev were read out at the meeting.

Rogachev Receives DPRK Border Talks Team

PM0911101589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Moscow Evening Edition Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 2 November I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, met and had a friendly talk with the DPRK delegation which took part in the latest session of the Joint Soviet-Korean Commission on the Demarcation of the State Border between the USSR and the DPRK.

After the meeting, I.A. Rogachev gave a luncheon in honor of the Korean guests.

DPRK Envoy Cited on Non-Nuclear Zone

LD0911232589 Moscow TASS in English 2312 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] New York November 10 TASS—Permanent ambassador of the Korean People's Democratic Republic to the United Nations Pak Gil-yon held a news conference at the U.N. headquarters on Thursday.

During the news conference he spoke in detail about the new peaceful initiative of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic concerning the creation of a nuclear-free zone on the Korean Peninsula and the immediate beginning of talks with the United States and South Korea on attaining a relevant agreement.

Despite the gradual reduction of nuclear armaments in the world, the situation on the Korean Peninsula is growing increasingly tense. This is caused to a considerable degree by the fact that nuclear weapons are deployed at U.S. bases in South Korea.

The trilateral talks on the creation of a nuclear-free zone on the Korean Peninsula, the ambassador said, could begin already this year in Geneva or any other place at the expert level during the first stage.

DPRK Proposes Talks on Nuclear-Free Korea

PM1311164189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "DPRK Government Appeal"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 9 Nov—The DPRK Government has called on the United States and South Korea to hold trilateral talks aimed at taking practical measures to turn the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone and to elaborate reliable guarantees of its status. The DPRK Foreign Ministry statement published here proposes holding these talks before the end of the year in Geneva or another mutually acceptable venue.

As agreement is reached at the trilateral talks on the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from South Korea talks should be held between North and South and a joint declaration concluded between them on turning the Korean Peninsula into a nonnuclear peace zone, the document states. The declaration's main provisions should envisage the ending by the North and the South of the testing, production, storage, and importation into the country of nuclear weapons, and the prohibition of the siting and movement of such weapons belonging to foreign states, and determine the procedure for verifying the zone's nonnuclear status.

USSR Backs DPRK Denuclearization Plan

PM1311170989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "USSR Foreign Ministry Spokesman Statement"]

[Text] The DPRK Foreign Ministry issued a statement 9 November on the question of the elimination of nuclear weapons from the Korean Peninsula. The DPRK Government has proposed that tripartite talks with the participation of the United States and South Korea be held on the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from the south of the Korean Peninsula, and also North-South talks with a view to adopting a declaration on the transformation of the peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone.

As is known, in June 1986 the DPRK Government reaffirmed its pledge "not to test, manufacture, import, or deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of the DPRK." Pyongyang's new initiative, a spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry has said, demonstrates that the DPRK as a party to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons consistently favors a nonnuclear status for the Korean Peninsula.

If the Korean Peninsula were declared a zone free of nuclear weapons, this would eliminate one of the serious causes of tension and would thus facilitate the advancement of the inter-Korean dialogue aimed at a peaceful settlement in Korea.

The USSR, as a principled champion of the elimination of nuclear weapons and the strict observance of nuclear nonproliferation, fully supports the DPRK's new initiative. The Soviet side reaffirms that the USSR is ready to act together with the other nuclear powers as a guarantor of the nuclear-free status of the Korean Peninsula.

People in the Soviet Union express the hope that the United States, South Korea, and all interested states will adopt an attentive and serious attitude to the DPRK proposal.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Outcome of Asian Economic Conference Assessed

OW1411034689 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 10 Nov 89

[(Suleymanov) commentary] [Text] Dear listeners: The members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN] are having a hearty discussion on the outcome of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference [APEC], held recently in Canberra, the capital of Australia. On this subject, our station observer (Suleymanov) writes:

Foreign ministers from 12 Asia-Pacific rim nations, including the ASEAN countries, took part in the 2-day conference. The meeting was held at the proposal of Australia and Japan. They suggested that the so-called APEC be set up. The idea was to establish a more clearly defined organization for multilateral trade and economic cooperation in the region. The ASEAN countries, like the other countries in the region, welcomed the idea of developing economic ties based on equality and mutual benefit. [words indistinct] influential figures in developing countries hold that the plan to form an organization for multilateral trade and economic relations needs further study.

As (?predicted) by many observers, the capitals of the ASEAN countries are skeptical to a certain degree about whether they are facing the prospect of [words indistinct]. This prompted Ali Abdullah Alatas, Indonesian minister of Foreign Affairs and the leader of the ASEAN Standing Committee to stress at the Canberra conference that the association is in fact the only international organization existing in the region. And at the proposal of the member countries of the ASEAN, a document, in summing up the conference, incorporates the recognition that the ASEAN and the dialogue instituted by it have so far made significant contributions to the development of economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The foreign ministers also pointed out that the ASEAN continues to play a prominent role in the region.

The same statement points out that efforts to promote regional cooperation should not lead to the emergence of a closed trade group. Observers in various countries speculate which countries could take part in such cooperation. For instance, can China or the Soviet Union participate? Neither China nor the Soviet Union were asked to send delegates to the Canberra conference. Both the Soviet Union and China are major countries in Asia. They have frequent contacts with scores of countries in the region and have contributed greatly to cooperation in the region. The Canberra statement welcomes China's wish to enter the conference. It is, however, mentioned inconspicuously and without detailing specific views or conditions, not to say the mentioning of the Soviet Union. Therefore, we cannot but come to the conclusion that if the doors of the proposed APEC are closed upon this major Asian country, the organization cannot but become the closed group that the Canberra conference feared.

International Attitudes on Cambodia Viewed

BK1111063089 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] According to reports from Phnom Penh, the number of newspaper correspondents accredited to the Cambodian capital has further increased with the addition of those from the Thai newspaper THE NATION. This paper, published in English, has just opened an office in Phnom Penh. On this issue, our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, writes the following:

In my view, this is excellent. First, it reflects the genuine sincerity of the Thai Government in expanding good-neighborly relations with Cambodia. As far as I know, half a year ago one simply could not talk about opening a permanent office of a Thai paper in Phnom Penh. However, when the editorial office of THE NATION asked for permission from the Bangkok government to open a branch in Phnom Penh, this was immediately granted. Along with Cambodian affairs, Thai reporters were also charged by their editorial office to report on events in Laos and Vietnam as well. It can be predicted that after THE NATION, other major papers in Thailand will station their correspondents in Indochinese countries.

Another circumstance meriting attention is the fact that THE NATION is the first paper from a non-socialist country to open a permanent office in Cambodia. This reflects the foresight of Thai newspaper bosses on the political situation and changes taking place around Cambodia.

As predicted, Cambodia's prestige in the international arena has been heightened following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. Also heightened was Vietnam's prestige. Phnom Penh and Hanoi have stuck to their words. As scheduled, all Vietnamese soldiers have returned home.

It is increasingly apparent that the international community has positively expressed itself on expanding relations with Phnom Penh. Cambodia's foreign trade keeps growing in volume. A number of countries in the Asia-Pacific region have expressed the desire to provide Cambodia with economic, technical, and financial assistance—for example Australia, a country that was recently visited by Comrade Kong Sam-ol, Cambodian deputy prime minister. The bridge of economic cooperation with Phnom Penh is also being built by Japan, not to mention numerous Thai companies that have quickly set up trade ties with their Cambodian counterparts.

It is often said that trade will pave the way for political cooperation. Cambodia is a special case. Phnom Penh's constant policy aimed at reconciling the nation and restoring peace in the country has strengthened the belief of foreign traders to be more confident in cooperating with Cambodia. The expansion of Cambodia's economic ties takes place amidst a complex situation in the western and northwestern part of the country. There Pol Pot armed forces, taking advantage of the Vietnamese troops' absence, have launched open attacks aimed at seizing power in Cambodia. It seems that they are hoping their active military offensive will raise their prestige among the international community and compel Western countries to support them more effectively.

However, it seems that Pol Pot and his close associates will be disappointed. An example illustrating this is the statement by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. Addressing Parliament a few days ago, he disclosed that London plans to review its attitude on the Khmer Rouge's seat at the United Nations. In the past, Britain voiced its support for the so-called coalition government of the opposing Cambodian group, dominated by the Pol Pot clique. Now the British foreign secretary publicly says: The Conservative Party government will not provide any support to Pol Pot forces in Cambodia.

Election Plans of Burma Political Parties Noted

BK1511123589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1030 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Commentary by Station Observer Aleksandr Vladimirov]

[Text] Myanmar [Burma] has entered a new phase in its preparations for multiparty general elections. Following the final announcement that the elections will be held on 27 May 1990, opposition parties have started to submit their lists of candidates. The first one to do so was the party headed by the former prime minister, U Nu.

At a press conference held on 12 November, U Nu said well known public figures in Myanmar, such as Bohmu Aung, U Ba Tun, Wam Ko Hau, and U Tin Maung Aye will be fielded as candidates by the League for Democracy and Peace. These people are well known for favoring the bourgeois parliamentary system and for their preference for capitalism.

U Nu said he would not be submitting his name in the candidates list and also reiterated that he would not be actively involved in the future government even if his party wins the elections. U Nu also said at the press conference that the League for Democracy and Peace would try to compete in all the constituencies with the exception of those in the Shan State. He said plans have been made to begin electioneering in the near future and that the theme of his campaign would be to strengthen trust between the future government and the Defense Services.

U Tin Maung Aye, League for Democracy and Peace parliamentary candidate and adviser on the party on economic affairs, told a Soviet correspondent that the main economic objective of his party would be to ensure full employment and to achieve good working and living conditions for all the people.

There is widespread interest in how the National League for Democracy, led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, would regard the elections. Western news agencies have speculated that it is almost certain the National League for Democracy will boycott the elections held by the State Law and Order Restoration Council. However, on 30 September, a decision made by the Central Executive Committee was made public. The statement said that the league would be running in the elections as the Elections Law passed on 31 May 1988 did not prohibit Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from being nominated as a candidate. In addition, a leader of the National League for Democracy, U Kyi Maung, called on activists in the Central Executive Committee to struggle only through peaceful and just means.

Hence, from the decision made by the Central Executive Committee and from the recent statements by its leaders, it is evident that the National League for Democracy wants to further strengthen its base so as to play a deciding role in the growth of democracy in the country. This is the opinion being expressed by observers in Yangon.

The pre-election campaign by ex-Brigadier General Aung Gyi, who became popular through his criticisms of U Ne Win government's political and economic policies, is somewhat different from the others. While strongly criticizing the National League for Democracy, ex-Brig Gen Aung Gyi said the outcome of the elections would depend on the contention between his party and the National Unity Party—the party which Aung Gyi continues to call the BSPP [Burma Socialist Program Party]. In all of his speeches, ex-Brig Gen Aung Gyi has promised that if his party wins, Myanmar will become economically developed within 15 months.

Observers believe that kind of public declaration to win the support of the people could mean that the party has widespread contacts abroad, particularly with Japanese business circles. Ex-Brig Gen Aung Gyi often points to South Korea as a good example of achieving economic success through the massive input of foreign investment.

However, the National Unity Party, which is being criticized not only by ex-Brig Gen Aung Gyi but also by the National League for Democracy and by U Nu's people, has also said it is confident of winning the elections. The National Unity Party, which is made up of former BSPP members, has experience in organizing and handling the people. The party places great emphasis on the rural areas.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, U Chit Hlaing, head of the Political Bureau of the National Unity Party's Central Committee, declared that the peasants, who constitute 75 percent of the population, support his party.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Front for National Reconstruction [DFNR] headed by U Chit Maung is also hoping for support from the peasantry. Observers point out that the front has the support of the free peasants organizations. The front has been asking for the restoration of democratic rights as soon as possible, and until recently, its leaders have been demanding the transfer of power to an interim government.

We are beginning to hear the names of the political leaders today, and yet it is only the beginning of the campaign for votes. The next phase in the preparation for the elections will be to ask the parties to state their platforms, themes, and policies. Come what may, we can conclude that the upcoming elections are being viewed in Myanmar as a factor that will help decide the country's future and also as an opportunity to unite the social classes and different political forces.

This point alone strongly refutes the comments of some Western observers that the elections are merely a trick by the military leaders to strengthen the position of their oppressive government. While on this subject, it should be noted that objective people like the long-serving Australian ambassador in Myanmar, Chris Lamb, are of the opinion that allegations of human rights abuses in Myanmar are being exaggerated. The Australian ambassador expressed his belief that in May, the people of Myanmar will be able to choose between the National Unity Party and the opposition parties and genuinely vote for the party of their choice.

Commentary on Book by Burma's Khin Nyunt

BK1411041289 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 13 Nov 89

[(Lumyin) commentary]

[Text] The Myanmar [Burma] authorities appeared to have decided to reply to criticisms abroad on the situation in Myanmar. This conclusion can be reached by anyone who has read the book: "The Conspiracy of Treasonous Minions Within Myanmar and Traitorous Cohorts Abroad." We were able to read it because some copies of the book published in Rangoon during October were sent to Moscow Radio by the Myanmar Embassy staff in Moscow.

The book is a compilation of points made at the 9 September press conference held by Brigadier General Khin Nyunt, secretary of the State Law and Order Restoration Council. The book was apparently published and distributed with the intent to show that documents and data presented at the press conference have been able to expose the subversive activities carried out in Myanmar during the course of last year. Brig Gen Khin Nyunt's press conference, which stressed the activities of the illegal and underground organizations which oppose the military government in Myanmar, reflected the Myanmar leadership's conviction that had there been no encouragement from abroad the antigovernment movements would not have been extensive.

According to evidence made public by Brig Gen Khin Nyunt and the thinking of the Myanmar military government, some foreign embassies and organizations have been directly interfering in the affairs of Myanmar. Among the evidence presented at Brig Gen Khin Nyunt's press conference were pictures of U.S. leaders such as Stephen Solarz and Rohrabacher and copies and appeals of letters from leaders of some political parties to foreign embassies. The book also contained what the authorities claimed as evidence of direct financial assistance from abroad which could not be denied. This book in a green cover has chosen as its theme the conspiracy of leftist and rightist organizations, secessionist and exile groups, and foreign intelligence organizations and their extensive activities. Brig Gen Khin Nyunt expressed his fear that the activities of these organizations could transform Myanmar into a foreign colony.

Allegations against the Myanmar military government by the United States and the EEC are known to all. Brig Gen Khin Nyunt's press conference can be viewed as a rebuttal from General Saw Maung's government to those allegations.

According to reports from Rangoon, Burmese media have been increasingly criticizing the United States and American diplomats. Viewed from the general Asian perspective, confrontational Rangoon-Washington propaganda cannot be said to be contributing to mutual trust and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Near East & South Asia

EC Ministers Confer With Egypt on Peace

PM1511112989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "European 'Three': Talks in Cairo"]

[Text] Cairo, 13 Nov—The French, Spanish, and Irish foreign ministers have completed their talks with the Egyptian leadership. The European "Three," who earlier had meetings in Tunis with Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, and C. Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League, was received by Egyptian President H. Mubarak and 'I. 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and Egyptian foreign minister. In the course of the conversations, MENA reports, opinions were exchanged regarding the means of a settlement in the Near East and the role of the European community in advancing the peace process in the region. The question of holding an Arab-European meeting at the foreign-ministerial level was also discussed.

Speaking at a press conference after the meetings, French Foreign Minister R. Dumas confirmed the European states' readiness to seek the convening of an international conference on the Near East. The members of the "Three," he noted, have grounds for hoping for progress in establishing peace in the region. There are still difficulties on this question, R. Dumas said, referring to Israel's stance. In the course of the impending meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir 21 November in Paris, he indicated, the "Three" will not only listen to his viewpoint, but will also try to convince him of the need to take steps toward peace.

The Egyptian leadership, 'I. 'Abd al-Majid told journalists, is making all possible efforts to organize direct talks between Israel and the Palestinians. The head of Egypt's foreign policy department pointed out the coincidence of Egyptian and European viewpoints regarding the fact that Palestinian-Israeli dialogue must be the first stage on the way to convening an international conference to solve the Near East crisis.

Vorontsov Receives Mideast Envoys

PM1711141989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Text] On 13 November USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yu.M. Vorontsov received ambassadors Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Uthman of the Yemen Arab Republic, M. Hammud of Lebanon, and M. Yala of Algeria.

They handed him a statement adopted by the conference of heads of Arab countries' diplomatic missions in Moscow, expressing thanks to the Soviet Union for its vigorous support for the peacemaking efforts of the committee of three on Lebanon and the Arab League, which made a decisive contribution to the start of the peace process on Lebanese soil. The efforts made in this respect by M.S. Gorbachev personally deserve special thanks, the statement says.

Yu.M. Vorontsov thanked them for the high rating of the Soviet leadership's contribution to a Lebanese settlement and stressed that the USSR will continue to actively promote a political solution to the crisis and the achievement of national concord in Lebanon. Mention was made of the great importance of the solidarity shown by the Arab states, as a result of which the first positive advances in the Lebanese situation were possible. This Arab solidarity can also effectively contribute to progress in the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and convening of an international conference on the Near East.

Upcoming Persian Gulf Conference Viewed

NC1611122889 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1100 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Interview with Moscow Radio analyst Aleksander Batyev by unidentified announcer; Batyev speaks in Russian with superimposed Persian translation—recorded]

[Text] At the initiative of the Institute for Political and International Problems affiliated to the Iranian Foreign Ministry, an international conference on the Persian Gulf is to be held in the Iranian capital from 20 to 22 November. Preliminary figures show that representatives from more than 30 countries and international organizations, including the Soviet Union, will participate in this conference. I interviewed our analyst Aleksandr Batyev on this conference. He said:

[Batyev] Facts show that the main points of discussion at the conference will be the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598. This is very natural. Persian Gulf countries have to take into consideration Iranian-Iraqi relations each time they want to compile programs for development or for cooperation. They consider the neither war nor peace situation in these countries as unclear, and the more this situation continues, the more relations between the two countries deteriorate. And this situation may have unpredictable consequences.

[Announcer] Aren't you overdramatizing the situation?

[Batyev] I would like to have been able to believe in a better result. But let us see what the situation is like. The fact that the war situation between Iran and Iraq has not yet ended has led to the escalation of the arms' race in the region and this race is adopting newer forms. The arsenals of regional countries are complemented with more modern and more deadly weapons. I am referring to missile and chemical weapons. In view of the Iranian and Iraqi steps toward this, the countries in the region improve their defense capabilities. The meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council defense ministers which ended in Riyadh early this month emphasized the need for increased military cooperation between these countries. Thus, even though the Iran-Iraq conflict is not as intense as in the past, it, nevertheless, still leads to exacerbation of tensions in the Persian Gulf.

[Announcer] It seems that we can only confirm reality because, apparently, even Ian Eliasson, personal envoy to the UN secretary general, who recently shuttled between Tehran and Baghdad, did not score a marked success in overcoming the state of war between the two countries.

[Batyev] I think that Iran and Iraq, who are neighbors in the Persian Gulf, should adopt a more active stand on this. They could have played the role of the mediator or to propound peaceful solutions. [sentence as heard] The international conference on the Persian Gulf which is to be held in Tehran will be a good opportunity to do so. The noteworthy point is that this conference is being held at the initiative of the Iranian Foreign Ministry. Thus, Iraq's representatives will not be present. As a result, possibilities to find solutions and to adopt decisions acceptable by both sides will be limited. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the upcoming conference in Tehran will have useful results.

Continuing Fighting in Afghanistan Described

PM1511154589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel A. Ivanov: "Afghanistan: When Will Peace Come?"]

[Text] The reports coming in every day from the Republic of Afghanistan attest to the persisting acute military-political situation in and around that country.

Intransigent counterrevolutionary groupings waging an armed struggle against the republican authorities seem to still nurture hopes of ultimate success. As President Najibullah said in his speech at the 25 October People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee plenum in Kabul, "the war against the Republic of Afghanistan is assuming new, expanded dimensions on the part of the extremists and their foreign patrons."

The ringleaders of the "alliance of seven" entrenched on Pakistani territory and the so-called "transitional government" which they have formed under the control of the Pakistani intelligence service and the U.S. mission in Islamabad reject the constructive proposals issuing from Kabul and aimed at achieving national conciliation and a political settlement of the internal Afghan conflict and are seeking to crank the handle of war still further. At the same time the entire course of events has rejected their calculations regarding a swift and easy military victory.

Throughout the period since the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the antigovernment forces have not succeeded in resolving a single major military task in their favor. The failure of the attempts of the armed formations of the "alliance of seven" to seize Jalalabad—a center in the Southeast of the country of exceptional military-strategic and political importance—is well known. For a long time the garrison of government troops in Khowst City in the immediate vicinity of the border with Pakistan has been resolutely repelling the rebels' attacks. The government troop garrisons in Qandahar, Lashkar Gah, Shindand, Herat, Gardeyz, Ghazni, Feyzabad, and other key centers are defending their positions just as staunchly. Despite the regularly recurring shooting, the defense of the republic's capital also remains reliable as a whole.

The opposition's armed formations sometimes seize individual security posts on strategic routes and temporarily disrupt the delivery of freight. But in all cases the government troops, who have acquired experience in resolving the tasks of unblocking the road sectors seized by the rebels, succeed in rapidly restoring traffic and escorting large transport convoys, thus providing the population and troops of the outlying cities and garrison with the necessary material facilities. The Afghan Air Force transport aircraft are also operating continuously and quite efficiently. There has been a marked improvement in the combat skill and morale of Afghan soldiers and officers and in the standard of the troops' operational control.

The lack of real successes for the counterrevolution against the background of the increased combat potential of the republic's armed forces is having a demoralizing effect on the rank and file rebel contingent and on the field commanders of the opposition's armed formations. Many of them have recently been expressing doubts as to the ability of the "alliance of seven" to achieve military victory and are inclined to end their armed struggle. As a result of these changes in moods and views an increasing number of opposition armed detachments and groups are either adopting temporizing positions or are entering into talks with the government and going over to its side. A trend toward the intensification of alienation between the grassroots of the antigovernment forces and the top echelons of the counterrevolution has arisen and is gathering strength. In this situation the orders, directives, and instructions from the opposition headquarters are often simply ignored locally.

On analyzing the changes now taking place within the armed Afghan opposition, we cannot keep quiet about the phenomenon that is the drastic aggravation of contradictions and direct confrontation between various counterrevolutionary groupings both in Afghanistan itself and on Pakistani territory. The fiercest armed clashes on the soil of the struggle for zones of control have developed in the Northern and Northeastern regions of Afghanistan between detachments of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (the leader is Gulbuddin Hikmatyar) and the Ahmad Shah Mas'ud grouping, which belongs to the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" (the leader is Burhanuddin Rabbani). Both sides are suffering substantial personnel losses and are seeking to block each other's base regions and frustrate the approach of reinforcements and the delivery of weapons, ammunition, and other freight. Many examples are known of a similar internecine feud which has developed in other parts of the republic.

Present-day Afghan realities can thus hardly create in the ringleaders of the Afghan revolution the certainty that they will achieve a military victory, especially a rapid victory. That is why it is absolutely clear that the intransigence they are demonstrating has other reasons. It is entirely obvious that the main reason is the desire of the leaders of the Peshawar "seven" to retain their privileges, expressed in the receipt of enormous financial aid, weapons, and various material facilities from the United States, Saudi Arabia, and other countries and in the opportunity to spend them virtually uncontrolled, right up to selling them on the black market. Suffice it to say that since 1980 the volume of U.S. aid to the Afghan counterrevolution has totalled over $4 billion.

Another reason is the participation of the ringleaders of the "Alliance of Seven" in the international drugs business. During the war they created a powerful base for the production of narcotics, including numerous plantations of narcotic plants in regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan controlled by the rebels and up to 200 laboratories producing opium, heroin, and other narcotics. According to the London TIMES, the annual opium production level of the drugs mafia of the "alliance of seven" is over 800 tonnes, which is already twice its annual production in Pakistan and Iran. The biggest producers and dealers of narcotics are Gulbuddin Hikmatyar's "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," the "Movement of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan" of Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, Burhanuddin Rabbani's "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," and several other mujahidin formations.

The potential of the Afghan revolution for continuing the armed struggle is determined wholly by the size of the foreign financial and military aid granted to it. If the United States and Pakistan—direct participants in the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan—were, as the Soviet Union has done, to fulfill in their entirety the commitments they have assumed, then an end would long ago have been put to the Afghan war. At the same time there are no signs to be observed of a possible reduction in the immediate term of the volume of U.S. military aid to the Afghan counterrevolution. Transparent hopes for the rebels' success and the absence in its arsenal of alternative options for achieving its aims in Afghanistan are forcing the U.S. Administration to cling to a military solution of the Afghan problem. One wonders what new failures in the Afghan opposition's activity will compel official Washington to revise its views of ways of resolving the Afghan conflict?

Quite a lot has been written in detail about the role which Islamabad has played and continues to play in the 10 years of aggression against the Afghan republic. Let us note the main thing: The period which has elapsed since the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan entered into force has shown that Pakistan's ruling circles were not even thinking of fulfilling the commitments they have assumed. Pakistani territory, particularly in the regions bordering on the Republic of Afghanistan, continues to be used extensively by the Afghan counterrevolution for siting its camps, military training centers, arms and ammunition depots, and control organs. Not a single one of the opposition establishments which have operated all these years has in fact been eliminated on Pakistani territory. Moreover, new ones have appeared. The question of Pakistan's attitude toward the problem of Afghanistan has become a subject of barter between Islamabad and the capitals of the states gambling on extending the Afghan war.

To judge by recent events in the National Assembly—Pakistan's parliament—where the opposition has tried to remove Benazir Bhutto's government from power through a vote of no confidence, the positions of those circles who would like Islamabad's anti-Afghan course to be still tougher are still quite strong in the country. In particular Nawaz Sharif, leader of the Pakistani opposition, has demanded that Pakistan immediately recognize the "transitional government." Considering the above it cannot be ruled out that B. Bhutto and her cabinet, under pressure from the right and to please Washington and Riyadh, may embark on the even greater expansion of actions leading to the further prolongation of the war in Afghanistan.

The development of the military-political situation in and around Afghanistan right now gives no grounds for counting on the speedy arrival of peace in that country. There are still too many supporters of the continuation of the war the most influential of whom, in addition to the counterrevolutionary ruling clique, are the ruling circles of the United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia. Peace in Afghanistan will come all the more quickly the sooner the capitals of these states realize that the Afghan republican regime is not defenseless and has fully proved its strength and viability.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Reaction to Namibian Assembly Elections

Soviet Government 'Statement'

PM1711114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed account of "Soviet Government Statement" on Namibian elections]

[Text] The results of the election to the Namibian National Assembly have been announced in Windhoek. The election was held in accordance with the U.N. plan and under U.N. control.

The election recognized by the United Nations as legal and fair was won by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which won a majority of the votes cast. The results of the election demonstrate the Namibian people's faith in SWAPO, which has led Namibia's struggle for freedom, against illegal occupation by South Africa, for over 20 years.

Through all these years Soviet people gave the Namibian people unswerving assistance and support in their struggle, and now they congratulate SWAPO sincerely on its success.

An important milestone has been reached on the road to the independence and sovereignty of the last colony in Africa.

Within several months the National Assembly should draw up and adopt the first constitution of free Namibia and fix the deadline for the official proclamation of independence.

The important role that the United Nations plays in Namibia's decolonization and the consistent and tireless efforts of the United Nations to ensure lawful rights of the Namibian people are highly appreciated in the Soviet Union. A positive contribution to this process is made by the Organization of African Unity, by frontline states, by all parties to the 1988 New York agreements that opened the way for settling the conflict in the South West of Africa.

It is hoped in the Soviet Union that in the forthcoming important and tense period, all political forces of Namibia, all paticipants in the settlement will display great political responsibility and do their utmost to ensure that Namibia's decolonization is completed and that peace, stability, and national accord needed for free and independent development are established in the new state.

Political settlement of other aspects of the conflict in the South of Africa will largely depend on developments in sovereign Namibia.

For its part the Soviet Union will, as always, do its utmost to promote the achievement of this goal and urges the entire world community to do the same.

Election Results Evaluated

MB1611165489 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Aleksey Sokolov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] Namibia's Constituent Assembly election has ended and the results have been announced.

SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] supporters celebrated SWAPO's election victory with marches and much jubilation.

SWAPO secured 41 of the 72 seats in the Constituent Assembly, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [DTA] secured 21 seats, and the rest are distributed among the lesser parties. Nearly three-fifths of the poll went to SWAPO, but the final result was not as good as expected since SWAPO did not secure the desired two-thirds majority in the Constituent Assembly, which would have afforded it the right to have a free hand in drawing up the territory's new constitution.

What caused this? Several things were against SWAPO.

Incidents of intimidation is one thing. For instance, a helicopter was seen hovering around the north distributing opposition DTA pamphlets containing anti-SWAPO material. SWAPO supporters' car wheels were deflated at polling stations, and there were other incidents aimed at repressing and intimidating voters that worked against SWAPO, but this is not all.

We must also remember that, on 1 April, the 1st day of the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia, SWAPO troops entered Namibia from Angola, resulting in a bloody clash with South African troops that left hundreds of SWAPO soldiers dead and SWAPO in disgrace.

Then again, at the beginning of this year, SWAPO released many of its captives from its detention camps in several African countries. These people were accused of spying for South Africa, but Western media claims the only fault was that they were not SWAPO members. This issue was effectively exploited in campaigning by the DTA and other parties.

Another factor is SWAPO's later reluctance to sign the 1982 agreement, along with the other parties, although it had previously indicated that it would. This made voters wary that SWAPO would become autocratic.

These are the factors that worked against SWAPO in the election and robbed it of the two-thirds majority.

Be that as it may, SWAPO won the Namibian election, bringing much satisfaction to its supporters in Windhoek, where many of the party's flags are hanging.

International Significance of Accord

PM1711093189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Observer's Opinion" under general heading: "Namibia: Step Toward Freedom!"]

[Text] And so the South-African People's Organization (SWAPO) has emerged victorious from the elections in Namibia. It is a deserved victory, because it was this organization which for more than 2 decades headed the armed guerrilla struggle for the liberation of this last colony on the continent of Africa. And it was a difficult victory, too, since a frenzied, purposeful campaign was waged in the course of the election campaign and provocations were staged with a view to discrediting its candidates. Despite this, more than 57 percent of the electorate voted for SWAPO. The people gave the patriots a convincing mandate to rule the country. However, they failed to win the two-thirds of the seats in the Constituent Assembly needed to have a decisive say in drafting the Constitution.

The current elections evoked a broad international reaction because they mark the final stage of the implementation of the UN plan for the decolonization of Namibia. Kaiser Germany's former colony subsequently became a mandated territory of the Republic of South Africa. And although this mandate expired along ago, the racist regime in Pretoria thwarted the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 for more than 10 years and prevented more than a million Namibians from acquiring national independence.

Without the active assistance of the United Nations, without its numerous observers, without the "airlift" it organized to enable many thousands of patriots to return from forced emigration, it would hardly have been possible to prepare and hold elections and make them truly free and fair. The last obstacles were cleared from this path by the tripartite agreement signed by Angola, Cuba, and the RSA with the assistance of the USSR and the United States at UN headquarters at the end of last year. A joint commission for a settlement in South-West Africa, which includes representatives of Moscow and Washington as observers, operates on the basis of the New York agreement.

It is impossible to deny that the switch by the Soviet Union and the United States from confrontation to collaboration and a joint quest for ways of settling regional conflicts has enhanced the effectiveness of the UN peace efforts. The elections in Namibia are by no means the only example of this. The preconditions are being created for national reconciliation in Angola. The Geneva accords on Afghanistan and the cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq fall into the same category.

The free expression of will which was ensured for the Namibian voters with the assistance of the international community brings to mind Nicaragua, where parliamentary and presidential elections are scheduled for 25 February 1990. They will also take place under international supervision, and the path leading up to them has also been thorny. Fortunately, the UN and the OAS are currently actively assisting the talks between the Sandinistas and the Contras in New York and Washington with a view to creating favorable conditions for holding the elections on schedule.

The peacemaking role of the United Nations and the mediation efforts of individual states in the solution of interstate disputes by no means constitute outside interference in other people's affairs. Their objective is to guarantee in practice freedom of choice for individual peoples, or to assist sides involved in a conflict to settle this conflict on a mutually acceptable basis. This is entirely in keeping with the new trends in the life of our multifaceted but integral and interdependent world.

SWAPO's Nujoma on New Tasks

PM1711094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent I. Tarutin account of interview given to Soviet journalists by Sam Nujoma, president of the South-West African People's Organization, under general heading: "Namibia: Step Toward Freedom!"]

[Text] Windhoek—A few hours after the election victory in Namibia of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), its president Sam Nujoma met with Soviet journalists.

We are celebrating victory, he said at the beginning of the interview. You can see for yourselves how great the people's enthusiasm is. This is a historic moment. Colonialism is receding into the past once and for all. The long-awaited freedom is finally entering Namibia. It is the result of more than a century of struggle, against German domination at first, and then against racist occupation which lasted more than 70 years.

Therefore, S. Nujoma went on, we are paying tribute today to the memory of the heroes who fell in the struggle for independence. At the same time I want to express appreciation to the international community, and especially the Soviet Union, for its all-around political, diplomatic, and material assistance to Namibia's just cause. Namibians will never forget the support which they received from the USSR.

The elections have only just ended. Despite their individual negative aspects which occurred through the fault of the Republic of South Africa, I believe that on the whole they were free and fair elections. When this has been confirmed by the United Nations Organization, the Constituent Assembly will convene in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435. It will begin to debate the Constitution. SWAPO is prepared to cooperate with other deputies on this question.

In general, SWAPO believes that during the elections people voted not only for the individual parties, but first and foremost for independence. Therefore we are inviting all patriots to take part in the adoption of political decisions. What we want is national reconciliation, and we extend the hand of friendship to all, including the whites, while shouldering the main responsibility for the fate of the country.

Many difficulties lie ahead, our interlocutor then said. We will have to restore the economy. We are planning to channel our main efforts into the development of agriculture and fisheries, which have declined during the years of racist rule.

These, in short, are the priorities on the domestic scene. In the international arena we will make a start by establishing diplomatic relations with various states. They will include the Soviet Union, of course. We want to become a full-fledged member of the international community. Independent Namibia will join the regional economic grouping with a view to promoting the expansion of inter-African trade. Naturally, will will join the OAU, and the United Nations. Namibia is determined to make its contribution to the struggle for peace.

These, in brief, are our plans for the near future, but our paramount task is unquestionably the Constitution and, once it has been adopted, the proclamation of independence, which is the key to the solution of all our problems. We ourselves are now deciding our destiny and looking ahead with hope to a bright future, Sam Nujoma said in conclusion.

Soviet Role in Monitoring Election

PM1511115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA special correspondents A. Nikanorov, M. Pavlov, and V. Pilyatskin dispatch: "Namibia: Soviet Militiamen Under UN Flag"]

[Text] Windhoek—As already announced, elections to the Namibian Constituent Assembly have come to an end. According to reports from constituencies (barring 38 from which data has still not been received), 95.55 percent of the registered voters voted. "The first election results will be known by the end of 13 November," G. Ru, representative of the RSA administrator general in Namibia, said at a press conference Sunday. "While we hope to have the final result 15 November."

A message was read out at another press conference in which Foreign Minister R. Botha thanked the UN representative on behalf of the RSA Government for his cooperation in preparing and holding the election.

A group of expert criminologists from 27 countries, including the USSR, was set up to prevent forgeries during the voting process. We asked A.V. Lebedev, leader of the Soviet group, to talk about his functions.

[Lebedev] Our task is to identify the signatures and fingerprints put on the registration cards prior to the election and during the voting process. If they coincide completely the card is deemed valid, but sometimes there are different fingerprints. In that case the card is set aside as a forgery and the UN representative is told about this. We have been working from 0500 hours to 2200-2300 hours. The work is both physical, for we process cards manually, which is very tiring on the eyes, and mental, we have a tremendous amount of work. Not only because of our responsibility for the matter in hand. This is the first time that the United Nations has enlisted Soviet specialists for this kind of work. Therefore, particularly at first, constant attention was riveted on us. Our professional suitability was vetted by UN, RSA, and Namibian representatives. Our experts did not make a single mistake. Now we are already advising our colleagues from Ghana, the RSA, the FRG, and other countries.

[Correspondents] Has this had an impact on your relations with the other specialists?

[Lebedev] We were afraid that we would not find a common language. Fortunately, this has not been the case. Quite the contrary: People treat us amicably and we are working in a good psychological climate.

[Correspondents] What about your knowledge of the language? Was knowledge of English taken into consideration during the selection process and how was the latter carried out in general?

[Lebedev] Knowledge of English was one of the requirements for the candidates. But the main thing was professional training. Our group comprises 11 experts from various cities in the Soviet Union. The selection process was carried out by a special commission headed by the chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Crime Detection Administration. We are all militia officers and are permitted to produce sign-language and graphological appraisals. The group was formed over a short period at the request of the UN Secretariat. It is a matter of great honor and supreme trust for us to be involved in resolving the question of granting Namibia independence.

[Correspondents] When you have finished checking the cards, is that the end of your mission?

[Lebedev] No, we have to study the ballot papers after the ballot boxes are opened and take part in counting votes.

[Correspondents] How is your work paid?

[Lebedev] We keep our wages at our place of work in the Union. We get the requisite minimum wage laid down for UN staffers.

Soviet Ambassador in Tanzania Dies in Car Crash

EA1611192189 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1700 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Morogoro—The Soviet ambassador to Tanzania, Mr (Petr Pozichev) died this afternoon after his car overturned along the Morogoro-Iringa road. The acting chief medical officer for Morogoro region, Comrade Henry Mhando, said that the ambassador died from head injuries which caused a brain hemorrhage. The driver and other Soviet Embassy officials accompanying Mr (Pozichev) were injured and admitted to Morogoro Hospital.

Reports from Morogoro say that arrangements are being made to bring Mr (Pozichev's) body to Dar es Salaam.

East Europe

Bulgaria's Zhivkov Relieved of Duties

LD1711113289 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia November 17 TASS—Bulgaria's National Assembly unanimously relieved Todor Zhivkov of his duties as president here today at the proposal of the parliamentary groups of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union.

Mladenov Elected State Council Chairman

LD1711140389 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia November 17 TASS—Petur Mladenov was unanimously elected chairman of Bulgaria's State Council by Parliament today.

The proposal came from the parliamentary groups of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union.

He will replace Todor Zhivkov, who was relieved of his duties at the same parliamentary session.

The parliament will also consider changes in the membership of the State Council and in the structure and composition of the government.

In addition, it will discuss proposals on changes in the leadership of standing commissions of the National Assembly and in the membership of a commission drafting a law on constitutional amendments.

The parliamentary session is being broadcast by television and radio.

Mladenov Thanks Gorbachev for Congratulations

PM1711142389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[Message to Gorbachev from Bulgarian Communist Party leader Mladenov]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,

I express to the CPSU Central Committee and to you personally the most heartfelt gratitude for the warm congratulations and sincere wishes on my election as general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee.

In the qualitatively new conditions Bulgaria's Communists are deeply aware of the exceptional responsibility of the tasks involved in transforming socialist Bulgaria into a modern democratic and law-governed state and in the continued affirmation of the BCP as society's political vanguard.

In the search for the so necessary solutions corresponding to our conditions we shall continue to assimilate all that is positive in the CPSU's experience of perestroyka and will make our contribution to strengthening the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

I should like to confirm, dear Mikhail Sergeyevich, our steadfast resolve to actively cooperate with the CPSU and the USSR so as to further reveal new prospects in ensuring the prosperity of the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples, developing socialism, and improving the world.

Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

Zhivkov Resignation Seen as 'Turning Point'

PM1611100789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent A. Kapralov: "Bulgaria: People Await Changes"]

[Text] Sofia—I hurried to get to the newspaper kiosk in the subway near the "Pliska" Hotel, which is not far from the IZVESTIYA correspondents' center, by 6 o'clock, in order to beat the mailman, who brings the news, by 3 hours. Todor Zhivkov's resignation, the paper TRUD writes, is far more than a mere organizational procedure. The plenum was a turning point in the Bulgarian people's life, in the destiny of socialism in Bulgaria.

The front pages carry the report on Monday's Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee session. It outlined measures to prepare for a special Central Committee session to discuss the situation in the country, devise a program to activate and energize the perestroyka process, and examine questions of preparation for the 14th Party Congress. The Politburo also decided to call a Central Committee plenum in the next few days to consider current and organizational issues.

Petur Mladenov gave an account of his telephone conversation with M.S. Gorbachev, during which they both stressed that they would continue to work on broadening links between the BCP and the CPSU and between Bulgaria and the USSR in order to strengthen Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and to collaborate in carrying out revolutionary perestroyka in both countries in the interests of our fraternal peoples.

The Politburo decided to reinstate the party membership of 10 persons, with no hiatus in their record of party service. It gave instructions that certain people who had been dismissed from work be reinstated. The published names include scientist Nikolay Vasilev, public figure Sonya Bakish, and journalist Georgi Tambuev.

It was no accident that Petur Mladenov, in his closing speech at the BCP Central Committee plenum, stressed: "The main thing we should start doing now is focus attention on the individual, on human beings and their prosperity and ennoblement." The plenum set the task of tackling by legislative means all the questions guaranteeing the democratic organization of society and freedom of the individual on the basis of the comprehensive development of democracy. Glasnost must be the unwavering principle of party and state policy.

The stark truth, RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes, is that in the 2 years since the July plenum (which was supposed to have initiated changes in the country—A. Kapralov) there have been no significant advances in any area. This truth is felt by every worker, it perturbs them, undermines confidence, and saps people's energy.

Despite original and fine ideas, perestroyka was in a rut, the paper TRUD notes. While the domestic market became increasingly meager, with Bulgarians starting to forget about the traditional things of life, everyone feeling that financial and currency affairs were in chaos, and the number of people finding it difficult to make ends meet was increasing, the statistical reports were loudly proclaiming another impressive plan overfulfillment.

When I read the article in TRUD by Kosta Andreyev, secretary of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, it occurred to me that only a few days ago these lines would not only have had no chance of being printed in a newspaper, but would scarcely have been uttered in public.

Today, the article continues, what is needed is an honest discussion about the country's economic and social situation, about what life is like for people in Bulgaria. And painful though the truth may be, it is what the people need. And they will not be demoralized or discouraged at all, despite the warnings people have been issuing for years. Unfortunately, among the executioners of glasnost, TRUD continues, one sees not only statesmen, but the leaders of the media. It is no accident that here the written word has very often turned into a mere veneer. Glasnost, the paper continues, also means pluralism of opinions, which for a number of years has been only a tantalizing phrase to us. No sedition. Unanimity was the most esteemed watchword, which meant only one thing—total absence of thought. Thinking people were excommunicated as violators of the existing order.

...The telephones are ringing constantly in the editorial offices and people are sending telegrams and letters, eager to share their pressing thoughts and concerns about perestroyka and express firm support for the decisions of the 10 November BCP Central Committee Plenum. Well, they can speak out, but—as the people I have spoken with recently have stressed—it is important not not to drown concrete action in a flood of words, however urgent. The plenum has given people an injection of vigor. It is important not to dissipate it.

Bulgaria's Mladenov Addresses Cultural Figures

PM1711103189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Kapralov dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Counsel With Intelligentsia"]

[Text] Sofia—A carefully prepared congress of Bulgarian science, culture, and higher education figures has been postponed at the last moment. A relaxed meeting between Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, and cultural figures was held in its place. The 100 people invited to the meeting also included some who had been restored to party ranks just the day before.

During a frank conversation Comrade P. Mladenov set out the party's course toward democratizing social life and building a modern, rule-of-law, socialist state. He laid special emphasis on the BCP's determination to conduct a dialogue with all strata of the population. It was stressed at the meeting that the country's social and spiritual revival in line with modern-day realities and requirements is possible only by following the path of restructuring, important features of which are freedom of creative quest and diversity and pluralism of opinions. The meeting was addressed by many prominent cultural figures. They included people well known for their critical attitude to Bulgarian reality.

CSSR's Adamec on Economic, Political Reform

PM1611165389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "L. Adamec: We Have Made Progress"]

[Text] Prague—At a joint session of both chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly, Czechoslovak Premier L. Adamec delivered a report on progress in fulfilling the program statement advanced by the newly formed cabinet of ministers 1 year ago. He declared that the economic transformations in the country should not be separated from political reforms. Under our conditions, L. Adamec emphasized, political changes must take precedence.

"Over the past year," L. Adamec said, "we have taken a number of measures together with the national governments (that is, with the governments of the Czech and Slovak Republics—L.K.). We have purchased technologies to increase production of goods in short supply. We have balanced the demand for and supply of individual kinds of goods, including by means of emergency imports."

The years of increasing difficulties have had a profound effect not only on the state of the economy but also on people's attitude toward the socialist state and on labor morality [as published] and thinking. The government is becoming increasingly convinced of the need to consistently implement a program for the restructuring of society. We cannot manage, L. Adamec declared, without creating an atmosphere of active enterprise.

After saying that "we are still making expensive, poor-quality output," the premier spoke critically of the state of affairs in capital construction, about the resolution of the housing problem, and about the situation in health care. Touching on the latter topic, he reported: "Out of the funds saved on in defense it has been decided to allocate 749 million korunas [Kcs] this year and Kcs960 million in 1990 to meet the most important needs, particularly for medicines and medical instruments."

The report assessed from sober positions questions of foreign trade and cooperation with the CEMA countries. "The rapid progress of restructuring in some socialist states and the serious changes in their economic policy," L. Adamec said, in particular, "are complicating long-term planning. As a result of these changes, many of our enterprises, particularly machine-building ones, are encountering considerable difficulties with sales. Their prospects depend on the ability to adapt to fast-changing conditions. When coordinating plans for the next 5-year period, our partners in socialist countries increasingly want to trade in freely convertible currency. Therefore the government considers it its duty to ensure the basic framework of treaty relations with socialist states.

"We are carefully studying the progress of economic reforms in other socialist countries," the report states. "It is known that the disruption of the equilibrium between the amounts of money and goods could be one of the stumbling blocks. The result is pressure toward rising prices or the use of foreign credits. Money which cannot be used to buy anything could discredit restructuring more than anything else. We are aware of the danger of cranking up the inflationary spiral and we want to avoid this, although we have no illusions that this will be easy."

With regard to criticisms addressed to the Government, L. Adamec said: "Correct and incorrect, acceptable and unacceptable views are to be heard in a frank dialogue. This is natural, and we take this into account. We favor broad discussion and do not avoid a sharp exchange of opinions. But on one condition: within the framework of the CSSR Constitution, while observing the norms of public order, in the spirit of democratic traditions and culture. And there is nothing unusual in this; this is customary in all rule-of-law states."

Poland's Mazowiecki Visit Set for 23-26 Nov

LD1611190989 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki will visit the Soviet Union from November 23 to 26 this year at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

FRG-Polish Statement on Kohl Visit Examined

OW1611062789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1150 GMT 15 Nov 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] In the general focus on the development of relations between East and West Europe, great significance is being attached to FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's just-ended official visit to Poland.

He and the Polish premier, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, signed a joint statement noting that Poland and the FRG recognize their responsibility for a policy of peace, concord, and cooperation in the interests of all peoples of Europe. The statement stresses that the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, which began with Hitlerite Germany's attack on Poland, serves as a warning and a call to forge firm peaceful relations between all the peoples of Europe. Poland and the FRG support the inviolability of borders, respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all European states, and noninterference into the internal affairs of other states.

This statement seems to me to be particularly topical in view of the attempts of certain circles in the FRG to question the very existence of the GDR as a sovereign state, as well as the territorial and political structures in Europe as a whole. Many prominent political figures are obviously alarmed about this. For example, Walter Momper, mayor of West Berlin, sharply criticized the FRG Government for dragging its feet over talks with the GDR on transit traffic. Instead of reviving dreams about the reunification of Germany, Momper declared, we ought to begin discussions immediately and seek solutions to practical issues of cooperation between the FRG and GDR. Momper added that at present, the numerous meetings and discussions between West Berlin and GDR citizens have clearly shown that the slogan of reunification of Germany has no chances for success. We, the West Berlin mayor said, must leave the GDR alone with our advice and allow the citizens of that republic to themselves engage in the process of democratization in that country.

A similar statement was made at a press conference in Bonn by Rolf Fuchs, cochairman of the West German Green Party. He stressed that a prerequisite for stable development of relations between the two German states is Bonn's complete legal recognition of the GDR. Fuchs supported the idea of devising specific programs for economic and ecological cooperation between the FRG and GDR. He pointed out that the means for financing such programs could be found by cutting military expenditures.

Helmut Kohl's Visit to Poland Analyzed

PM1611161989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[APN own correspondent V. Masterov dispatch for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "With Hope, But Without Illusion. End of H. Kohl's Visit to Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw—The official visit of FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Poland, the longest such foreign visit by a West German head of government, ended Tuesday [14 November] evening with the signing of a joint statement and a press conference involving hundreds of journalists.

It was a foregone conclusion that this event would be outstanding. Even the preparations for it were assessed as "exceptionally long"—over 1 and ½ years. And, as in any marathon, surprises may lie in wait at every step. In this case, there were particularly many on the very eve of the visit. Points of the chancellor's program which were leaked to the press provoked stormy debate and the unexpected replacement of the FRG ambassador to Poland added fuel to the flames. Although Bonn called this just a "health measure," scarcely anyone believed that. Explanations citing differences of opinion regarding the program for the visit were more plausible.

Helmut Kohl came to Germany at the head of almost half his cabinet, high-ranking church representatives, important scientists and cultural figures, and also several dozen influential figures from FRG business circles. A staffer of the Polish foreign policy department noted that in 20 years' work he could not remember a bigger delegation. So the FRG chancellor made it clear in this way what great significance he attaches to the visit, whose aim, as he said on the eve of it, is the beginning of a new phase in the history of their relations.

Most likely, it is. It is indeed an important event in relations between the two states since the signing of the agreement on the normalization of relations and Willi Brandt's visit to Poland in 1970. Then there was a breakthrough. Now there is a real chance of goodneighborly relations throughout the European home as well.

And this, it seems, is in a certain sense even more urgent than the 20 or so intergovernmental and other agreements—which are very important in the development of bilateral relations—signed during these days. I agree with my Polish colleagues who, following events closely, say that it is difficult to establish which of them deserves greatest attention: the agreement on collaboration in the sphere of the protection of the environment, or health protection and medicine, agriculture, youth and scientific and technical exchange, or the decision on creating cultural institutes of both countries.

"Our road to Europe goes through the Federal Republic," I read in one of the Polish newspapers. "Whether we want to or not, we can only return to the European and world economic scene with the help of the Federal Republic. But just as there is no place for sentiment in politics, in economics nothing is given for free. No one gives assistance without gaining something in return. Compromises are necessary." What is this? The truth of the moment or the moment of truth? Since H. Kohl's very first meeting with T. Mazowiecki, various forms of assistance which the FRG is intending to give Poland have been discussed. Both interlocutors agreed that Poland needs effective help. In this connection, questions of providing Poland with financial guarantees, eliminating part of its debt, and also material assistance were seriously discussed. The agreement on investment protection, which, as has been proposed here, should motivate West German businessmen to activate capital investments in Poland, was received with great interest.

Another important feature of H. Kohl's visit to Poland was the background of events in the GDR, to which the FRG chancellor drew attention as soon as he arrived in Warsaw. "This is a great challenge to the FRG, and it has created a number of problems for us," H. Kohl stated, explaining the interruption in his visit. This unusual situation has undoubtedly increased the FRG chancellor's political authority in the space of 24 hours. For the majority of Poles, he continued to be present in the country—on the radio and on television screens: participating in the rally in West Berlin, the extraordinary cabinet session in Bonn, telephone conversations with G. Bush, F. Mitterrand, M. Thatcher, M.S. Gorbachev, and E. Krenz. After his return to Warsaw, H. Kohl noted during his meeting with Polish President W. Jaruzelski that he sees interdependence between the events in the GDR and other East European countries, and he expressed the belief that there would have been no changes in the GDR if there had been no reforms in Poland, Hungary, and the USSR.

The first observations on the course of H. Kohl's visit to Poland lead to the conclusion that many existing problems in Polish-FRG relations are being resolved. But there have already been warnings that the agreements between them may be a political minefield. As Polish commentators are noting, this primarily concerns the ambiguous position of the FRG Government in relation to Poland's western border. The problem of compensation for the Polish victims of the crimes and policies of the Third Reich, stressed by Poland, is still acute. There is also a potential conflict with the "German minority" in Poland.

Will the positive changes be progressive and lasting? "The future will tell," Poland's POLITYKA wisely says and urges: "Let us enter into this new period with hope, but without illusion."

Aboimov Receives GDR Ambassador 16 Nov

LD1611190589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Nov (TASS)—Today, Ivan Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister received Gerd Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. The ambassador spoke about the steps aimed at realization of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] policy of renewal and democratization of social-political life, which are being undertaken in the GDR. Some practical questions of bilateral cooperation between the USSR and GDR were also discussed.

Talks on GDR Coalition Government Begin

PM1611165989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Question of Government"]

[Text] Berlin, 15 Nov—Representatives of the parties cooperating in the central democratic bloc have held a meeting in Berlin to prepare for the formation of a coalition government. This has been announced by the GDR State Council's Press Department. H. Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, has outlined his concept for the creation of the new government. It is to form the basis of the coalition government.

E. Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee; G. Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany; L. de Maiziere, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union; M. Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party; and G. Hartmann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany, submitted their proposals. The talks will continue.

GDR Poll on Current Changes Cited

PM1511114189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 89 p 3

[Own correspondent S. Maslov dispatch: "In the Light of A Poll"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—The Berlin Institute of Sociology and Social Policy held a public opinion poll among the GDR population last week. Now we have the results of this research project: 48% of those polled find the events of the past 4 weeks above all hopeful, 47% mentioned both their hopes and a sense of alarm. To a question on whether the decisions of the 10th Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Plenum correspond to the demands of the moment, 24% gave an unambiguous "yes," 60% opted for "partly," and 8% answered in the negative; 93% advocated substantive changes in the electoral system.

Eighty-seven percent of the GDR citizens with whom the sociologists talked stated that they do not plan to leave their country. [passage omitted]

'No Change' Seen in Relations With Albania

LD1611144889 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Albania is celebrating a remarkable date: 45 years have passed since its capital, Tirana, was rid of the Nazi invader. The Albanian people heroically fought against, first, the Italian Fascists, and then the German Nazis during the Second World War. That struggle originated a republic. More about the jubilee from our correspondent:

[Unidentified correspondent] A listener has described Albania in a letter as a hermit. True, Albania keeps aloof among the socialist nations, but to what extent have the changes in the whole of the socialist community affected this Balkan country and its policy? All these years we Soviet people have watched with sincere sympathy the 3 million Albanians carrying out changes. The changes have been dramatic. The country has pushed industry and done away with illiteracy and unemployment. True, Albania is following its own way, but who says that all must be reduced to the same level?

Albania has been gradually withdrawing from self-isolation. This is true of the economy in the first place. Albania is promoting ties with many Western nations, and some of the socialist countries—Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the GDR, and Yugoslavia in particular. Albania has carried out a breakthrough in international affairs. It has energetically joined a discussion of Balkan problems. Together with Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, it has been working hard for more trust and cooperation in the Balkans. Ministers of these nations have met regularly of late to discuss common problems, industrial cooperation, high-tech exchange, and environmental protection. Tirana too has played host to meetings of this kind.

As for Soviet-Albanian relations, they have seen no change yet. The two nations have neither diplomatic nor trade relations. This is abnormal. The Soviet Union and Albania have more in common than at variance. The 45th anniversary of Tirana's liberation is one more reminder of that allied struggle against the common enemy—Nazism—when we worked together.

West Europe

Chernyshev on Soviet-French Seminar on Alliances

LD1611195289 Moscow TASS in English 1927 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

Discussion of the future of the two military-political alliances in Europe—The Warsaw Treaty and NATO—currently features prominently in a quest for ways to improve the military and political situation in Europe. This problem was also high on the agenda of a Soviet-French seminar which was held from November 14 to 15 in Moscow by the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the French National Defence Study Foundation.

First of all, it should be stated that all participants in the discussion were unanimous that the former prerequisites for setting up military alliances were gradually disappearing. But the time for their elimination has not yet come and it will remain expedient to keep them for a certain historical period.

The positive atmosphere in relations on the continent, the gradual assertion of new political thinking enable not only the doing away with the enemy image but also the realisation of the absence of political, social and other prerequisites for the use of military force.

However another thing is also true: In current conditions the existence of alliances continues to remain one of the more important elements of stability on the continent. Even in reaching major agreements on disarmament, for example the Vienna agreement on conventional armed forces, and in building armed forces on the principle of sensible defence sufficiency it is simpler and, frankly speaking, cheaper to implement defence on the alliance basis. Nevertheless the political functions will undoubtedly play an ever greater role in each of the alliances.

Some in the West have been predicting in the past few days that the days of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation were numbered. These prophets seem rather far from a full understanding of the true situation in the Warsaw Treaty and seem not to think at all how such developments would affect the situation in Europe on the whole.

The situation is quite different. The point at issue is not disbanding the Warsaw Treaty but giving it a new quality. The latest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest and the meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee in Warsaw set out the ideas of politicising the alliance and developing relations between alliance states on the basis of equality and independence. It was also stressed that the activity of the Warsaw Treaty should be related to external security rather than to internal affairs.

I would call attention to one more point: The Soviet-Finnish Declaration, signed in October this year, clearly says that any use of force by one military-political alliance against the other, or inside these alliances, cannot be justified by either of the sides. This is further confirmation of the complete rejection of the former alliance policy and confirmation of the main thesis of new thinking regarding freedom of choice for any country and, consequently, represents a certain step towards politicising the Warsaw Treaty. Extending cross relationships between separate members of the two blocs in political, economic and other fields could lead to the disintegration of military- political alliances.

FRG, French Parliament Leaders Arrive on Visit

LD1611202689 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—President of the West German Bundestag Rita Sussmuth and President of the French National Assembly Laurent Fabius have arrived in Moscow today for an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The joint visit of parliamentary leaders from these two countries is a new phenomenon in interparliamentary practice, for us at least," Aleksandr Dzasokhov, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's International Affairs Committee told TASS.

"It should be borne in mind that France and West Germany, as parts of Europe, have their own identity and influence on the continent. We regard this visit as proof of the comprehensive integration processes in Europe and of cooperation among parliaments and their ability to reach a high level of concord," Dzasokhov said.

"I wish to add that the initiative of joint visits, which is deemed very important, is regarded by the USSR Supreme Soviet as part and parcel of the agreements reached during Mikhail Gorbachev's visits to France, Great Britain and the FRG, as well as of agreements concluded with the leadership of the European Council. We expect the meetings in Moscow to help expand our common concept of the European process and, what is most important, to provide fresh moral, legal and parliamentary impetus for further progress."

Dumas Remarks on 'Useful Talks' Cited

LD1611114389 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] [First announcer] The French foreign affairs minister has paid an official visit to Moscow for talks wtih his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze. Roland Dumas has had a 1 and 1/2-hour conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev.

[Second announcer] These were highly meaningful and useful talks, said the French foreign affairs minister in an interview for Radio Moscow. Developments were discussed and conclusions were drawn about the countries of Eastern and Western Europe. I must say that Western Europe is closely following the developments in Eastern Europe. As you know the President of France has invited his opposite numbers in the EEC for a working supper on Saturday [18 November], and my talks with Mr Gorbachev concerned the new world balance and the situation in Europe.

[First announcer] Were there any differences during the conversation?

[Second announcer] No, there were none, said Roland Dumas. On the contrary, I noticed that the viewpoints of both sides are becoming increasingly closer on many issues and they often coincide. This applies above all to perestroyka in the USSR. We approve and support it, but of course we do not interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR. We approve similar movements in other East European countries too. We also discussed regional conflicts—say the situation in Lebanon, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the situations in Afghanistan and Cambodia, and I must say that these discussions were constructive. Our two countries are situated in different parts of Europe and the Constitutions of our two nations are based on different principles, but the mutual attraction of our two peoples is the soil of our dialogue, for our meetings, and we can see that our many views coincide and that we are interested in developing our cooperation.

[First announcer] Those were the highlights of an interview with the French foreign affairs minister on the results of his official visit to the USSR.

Kohl's Bundestag Policy Statement Criticized

LD1611210189 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn November 16 TASS—By TASS correspondents Lev Volnukhin and Vladimir Serov

FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl today made a policy statement in the Bundestag.

He assessed the processes taking place in the German Democratic Republic and dwelt on the results of his visit to Poland that took place from November 9 to 14.

Both these themes are closely related, the chancellor said. "The historic events in the GDR changed the look of Germany and of Europe. The conditions for present development in the GDR could not have ripened if it were not for profound political, economic and social reforms in Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union", he said.

Kohl expressed satisfaction over the processes taking place in the GDR, and above all, over the decision of the GDR leaders to simplify the procedure for the exit of its citizens to the FRG and West Berlin.

He said Bonn is prepared to develop cooperation with the GDR in the economy, ecology and other areas, and also to give it assistance in medical services for the population.

The chancellor said that these matters will be discussed during his forthcoming meeting with leaders of the German Democratic Republic.

At the same time Kohl advanced a number of conditions on which the FRG is prepared to develop cooperation with the GDR. They are actually tantamount to interference in internal affairs of a sovereign state.

The chancellor demanded no more no less than "a radical change of the GDR's political and economic system," stating that only in this case will the FRG be prepared to widen the scope of cooperation. These demands were discordant with Kohl's own statements that citizens of the GDR do not need sermons and should make the choice themselves what road they should take to the future.

Dwelling on the results of his visit to Poland, the head of the FRG Government emphasized that his talks with leaders of the Polish People's Republic and the documents signed in Warsaw "widely opened the door to cooperation of the two countries in every area".

He said that the 1970 treaty between the FRG and Poland remains a firm foundation for relations with Poland, and that the Federal Republic of Germany will continue to adhere to the letter and the spirit of the treaty. "We intend to fully normalise and develop in every way our relations with Poland", Kohl said. He noted that in the joint statement signed upon the conclusion of his visit both sides set themselves the goal of turning Europe into a continent of peace and cooperation and creating a European peaceful order or a common European home.

Honorary Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Willy Brandt who opened the debate on the policy statement urged the government to cooperate with all political forces of the country in working out and implementing the joint course with regard to socialist countries. He criticized the chancellor for the fact that his policy statement had not given firm guarantees for the inviolability of Poland's western frontiers.

Helmut Kohl thus ignored the resolution adopted by the Bundestag on November 9, which confirms that the FRG will not be making any territorial claims to Poland and will not be questioning its present frontiers, said Helmut Lippelt, deputy to the Bundestag from the Greens Party.

W. Berlin Mayor on New GDR Exit Regulations

PM1411145589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Ye. Korolev dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "West Berlin: After the Opening of the Border"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Despite being extremely busy, Governing Mayor [of West Berlin] Walter Momper found the time to give an interview to the IZVESTIYA correspondent. In answer to a question about the significance of the GDR Government's decision he said:

"We are on the road toward the common European home. And the new exit regulations for GDR citizens, and the virtually complete freedom as regards visits, mean that one of the doors in this house has been thrown wide open. For the first time since the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, GDR citizens are able to come and go freely. I believe that this is a good contribution to a united Europe, to the practical implementation of the Helsinki process. We view the renewal and reforms which are under way in the GDR as a powerful impetus to the process of disarmament and detente. The changes in the USSR, Poland, Hungary, and now also in the GDR are a great incentive for all of us to develop economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation."

To a question about economic problems connected with the opening of the GDR border with West Berlin and the FRG, W. Momper replied:

"There are tremendous problems. The two economic regions are very different. Abuses, violations of customs regulations and of legal and economic norms are very likely. We have already begun discussing these questions with GDR representatives. I very much regret that the federal chancellor and federal ministers have not yet met with the new GDR leadership. A compromise solution must be found in respect of currency problems—after all, the GDR's convertible currency resources are limited."

Addressing a huge rally at the Schoeneberg Town Hall yesterday, W. Momper declared that it was a day of reunion, rather than reunification. Thus the governing mayor gave a clear answer to those forces which are trying to use the new situation to kindle revanchist attitudes. Momper congratulated GDR citizens on, as he put it, the peaceful democratic revolution in their country. Those who want to leave the GDR should give some thought to "whether they might not be needed in the democratic breakthrough in the republic." W. Momper emphasized, that although the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] may have wasted a lot of time, judging by its latest decisions it is seeking renewal. And it could happen that in the future the West may have to learn a lesson in democratic standards from the GDR.

The past few days have not passed without incident. Around 1,000 people temporarily "occupied" a section of the Berlin Wall near the Brandenburg Gate. In several places attempts were made to breach the wall. In West Berlin dealers cropped up selling fragments of the wall for DM20 a piece.

However, on the whole there was very little to cloud the festive mood. It was possible to witness the fact that universal human values rightly constitute the basis of the new thinking.

ADN reports that during the 50 hours which have elapsed since the entry into force of the temporary regulations on visits, more than 3.4 million GDR inhabitants have visited West Berlin and the FRG. Only 9,711 have expressed the desire to settle there permanently.

KGB Man Makes Claims in Treholt Spy Case

PM0811203189 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 3 Nov 89 p 11

[Bjorn Lindahl dispatch: "Norway: Security Police Tried To Recruit KGB Man"]

[Text] Oslo—The Norwegian security police tried to recruit KGB General Gennadiy Titov in connection with the arrest of [former Foreign Ministry official] Arne Treholt on charges of spying. Titov himself made the claim at a 5-hour meeting in Moscow Wednesday [1 November] evening with Treholt's defense lawyer Arne Haugestad.

In a letter Titov was offered $500,000 to defect to a country in the West.

Jostein Erstad, head of the security police, has denied that the letter, which has been given to Haugestad, is genuine.

"We do not have the kind of money Titov claims we offered him."

He was unwilling to comment on whether three people from the security police traveled to Vienna to meet Titov after Treholt's arrest in January 1984.

Ulf Underland, the lawyer who first defended Treholt, does not rule out the possibility that Titov could have been offered money to defect.

"I have heard rumors to that effect before, but the question was never raised during the trial," he said.

Titov also claims that he took notes during his meetings with Treholt and that these show that the two men did not discuss military or political secrets. He is willing to testify if Treholt is granted a retrial.

Treholt's contacts with Titov were the main evidence which led to Treholt's being sentenced to 20 years in prison for espionage.

Swedish Foreign Minister's Visit Assessed

LD1411230489 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—By TASS commentator Nikolay Vukolov:

Speaking at a news conference in Lithuania, Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson said that Sweden is striving to do its utmost to help perestroyka in the Soviet Union and refrains from steps that would hamper this process.

"We all have one purpose: to build a common European home in which we could live in security", Andersson said. These words sum up the results of his official visit to the Soviet Union.

Andersson's visit took place against a good international background. Just a fortnight ago Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Finland set the stage for new Soviet proposals, proposals which the Swedish side intends to study thoroughly, Andersson said.

These proposals refer, specifically, to the development and consolidation of ties between parliamentarians from northern European countries and the Soviet Union, and to creating good conditions for the widening and deepening of cooperation between northern European countries and the USSR, particularly in the light of perestroika.

During the Swedish minister's visit to the USSR the ideas and plans for this cooperation were thoroughly discussed. To sum up the results of the talks, there is a similarity of the two countries' views on a broad range of problems, among them European cooperation, Soviet-American Relations, the further development of the Helsinki process, possibilities for cooperation in northern Europe, also in environmental protection in the Baltic area, he said.

The Swedish guest began his visit not with the arrival in the Soviet capital, Moscow, but with visits to Estonia and Latvia. And he concluded the visit by staying in Lithuania.

There is a logic in this. Speaking in reply at a luncheon given in his honour by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Andersson noted that good conditions exist for the widening of cooperation between Sweden and the USSR, also for Sweden's Direct contacts with neighbouring Soviet Baltic Republics.

These republics, in turn, show interest in contacts with neighbouring Baltic countries, among them Sweden.

Staying in the Soviet Baltic Republics, the Swedish minister met with Latvian, Estonian, Lithuanian leaders, and members of the public.

These meetings evoked much interest in the Baltic Republics and, naturally, in Sweden.

Many Swedish newspapers carried detailed accounts of Andersson's news conference in Tallinn. They emphasised his words: "We do not regard Estonia as an occupied country. If this were so, I would not have visited".

As regards the calls of some extremist elements "not to recognise the Soviet Baltic Republics as part of the Soviet Union", the newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET pointed out that this would be an unwise and provocative foreign policy action. Such an attitude could only create a wrong impression that Sweden is prepared to back separatist aspirations, the newspaper wrote.

The Baltic Sea without nuclear arms, such is the caption in the newspaper DAGENS NYHHETER. The minister's official visit is an important step that deserves every support, the ARBETARTIDNINGEN-NY DAG newspaper writes.

The Soviet side's statement that European borders should not be questioned is absolutely justifiable: European frontiers have been registered by the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, the AFTONBLADET newspaper stresses.

The Swedish press notes with satisfaction that broader opportunities for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation are opening between Sweden and the Soviet Union in the commercial and economic areas, in culture and environmental protection and in other areas.

Agricultural Agreeement Signed With Austria

AU1411110589 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 14 Nov 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Agreement"]

[Text] On Sunday [12 November] in Vienna Agriculture Minister Fischler and Vladilen Valentinovich Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Commission for Foodstuffs and Purchases, signed an agreement on comprehensive cooperation between the two countries in the field of scientific-technological cooperation in the agricultural sector.

Yazov To Visit Austria in November

LD1411161989 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—Army General Dmitriy Yazov, the USSR defence minister, will pay an official visit to the Austrian Republic in the second half of November at the invitation of the Austrian Federal Minister of National Defence Robert Lichal.

Soviet Air Force Officers Visit UK

LD1411003289 Moscow TASS in English 2013 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] London November 13 TASS—A group of officers from the Gagarin Air Force Academy headed by the academy's chief, Colonel-General of the Air Force Boris Korolkov, arrived in Great Britain. They will spend several days in Great Britain to study methods of training officers at the Royal Air Force Colleges in Bracknell and Cranwell.

The Soviet delegation's visit is a reply one. British military specialists were familiarising themselves with the work of the Gagarin Academy last July.

Vice-Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sandie Hunter, head of the Bracknell College, said in an interview with TASS that this is a new form of Soviet-British ties which is important from the professional viewpoint and helps enhance confidence between the countries.

Latin America & Caribbean

USSR Supports Nicaraguan Proposal to Contras

LD1611190689 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—The Soviet Union supports the Nicaraguan Government's new proposals to representatives of the armed opposition on technical aspects of disbanding its units. Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said today, the proposals were made at talks in Washington.

The Nicaraguan initiatives offer a compromise and call for an immediate end to offensive operations and for forming corridors for the unobstructed withdrawal of units of armed opposition from Nicaraguan territory with the simultaneous pullback of Nicaraguan Government troops from these zones.

These proposals do not link the ceasefire to the ultimate solution of the question of Contra demobilisation.

This approach opens opportunities for reaching appropriate arrangements between the Sandinista Government and the armed opposition. Arrangements that will advance the Central American settlement as a whole, Gerasimov said.

He noted the Nicaraguan Government's calls to immediately send U.N. observers to Nicaraguan and other Central American countries in accordance with the Security Council decision to create a U.N. observer group for Central America.

The need for the early implementation of this decision becomes ever more apparent as the situation in El Salvador deteriorate. The sending of U.N. observers to the region could help ease the military confrontation in El Salvador and prevent more bloodshed, Gerasimov said.

Central American Developments Assessed

PM1511104989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA International Observer Captain S. Sidorov under the rubric "The World Today: Problems, Arguments": "Without Covert or Overt Interference. Is It a Question of Noriega? Honduran Accords Should Be Carried Out in Full. Road to Peace in El Salvador Lies Through Equal Dialogue"]

[Excerpt] The situation in Central America continues to be one of the "hottest" subjects in world news agency reports. Despite the overall warming in the political climate in the region the situation in and around certain Central American countries continues to be tense. Moreover, in a number of cases it has shown an alarming tendency to deteriorate. As a result of large-scale incursions deep into Nicaragua from neighboring Honduras by armed bands of contras, the Nicaraguan leadership has been forced to abandon its unilateral moratorium on offensive operations by the Sandinist People's Army and to resume combat operations against the mercenaries. The political dialogue between the insurgents and representatives of the ruling clique in bloody war-torn El Salvador has ground to a halt. The galvanization of the "death squads" has placed the already complex process of democratization in Guatemala in jeopardy.

I do not want to oversimplify anything, but I should state one very obvious fact. All this is happening against the backdrop of overt and covert interference by official Washington in the affairs of the Central American states and attempts to impose on them solutions to complex regional problems which would take maximum account of U.S. interests and minimum account of the legitimate interests of the peoples of these countries themselves.

Last month's attempted coup in Panama was a classic example of this approach. Many materials demonstrating Washington's direct involvement in it have been made public. A secret directive has also come to light granting permission to U.S. troops under the U.S. Armed Forces Southern Command to capture General Noriega, commander in chief of Panama's National Defense Forces.

The coup failed. It is time to ask some questions. Is it all just a question of Noriega, whom the United States has accused of every mortal sin under the sun? Wasn't the attempted coup part of the strategy aimed at maintaining the U.S. military presence in the Panama Canal Zone after 31 December 1999, when, under the treaties on the canal, the last U.S. soldier should leave Panamanian soil?

There is another question which I fear could become rhetorical in the context of the development of the situation in Central America. Will there be a repetition of what happened in Panama in another country deemed "unreliable" by the United States—such as Nicaragua, for instance? As is well known, CIA Director W. Webster, who is being accused in Washington circles of being indecisive in Panama, has to all intents and purposes already obtained a sanction for a more willful interpretation of certain limitations on his department's activities with regard to inspiring and carrying out coups abroad.

In connection with the possible repetition of the "Panama scenario" attention is being drawn to two facts recently cited by the Latin American press. It is reported that, when planning the coup, the United States gambled in particular on the Nicaraguan contras, whose leaders had come to Panama to coordinate operations with pro-U.S. Panamanian officers. The antigovernment mutiny in Panama was to have been supported by formations of Nicaraguan Contras based in neighboring Costa Rica. E. Briggs, staffer of the U.S. National Security Council and former U.S. ambassador to Honduras—where the Nicaraguan contras' base camps are located—took part in the preparations for the plot. Clearly, the former Somoza cutthroats are seriously seen by Washington as an important regional reaction reserve which, under favorable circumstances, could be brought "into play."

Comparing the numerous direct and indirect testimonies to Washington's manipulation of the Nicaraguan opposition, one inevitably comes to the conclusion that the United States has not abandoned its plans to remove the Sandinists from power in Nicaragua. Quite clearly, this is the ultimate aim of Washington's Nicaragua policy in its present form. The Contras' military defeat has resulted merely in adjustments to the tactics of interference. The emphasis is being shifted from military to political means of warfare, although military pressure retains an important auxiliary role.

As the general elections in Nicaragua scheduled for February 1990 approach, the U.S. Administration's intentions are becoming increasingly obvious. You get the impression that Washington, along with its attempts to "buy" the elections, is trying to provoke the Sandinists in every possible way to violate their commitments to democratize the country. Given this development of events, it will be easier to discredit the elections if the result favors the Sandinists and put the question of military aid to the Contras back on the agenda. Indeed, if the Washington Administration were really concerned, as it claims, about the problem of ensuring democratic elections in Nicaragua, would it be encouraging Contra raids and attacks on constituencies and secret killings that have little to do with democracy?

The Sandinist leadership's decision to end the 19-month truce with the Contras undoubtedly cannot fail to arouse concern, first and foremost, because the future development of events is getting more and more uncertain. At the same time, the Sandinists have no other way out. Carrying out its obligations under the agreements it has reached, the Nicaraguan leadership is undoubtedly entitled to expect the Honduran package to be carried out in full. This stipulates that the Contras disarm and demobilize by 5 December. Compare this position agreed by the presidents of the Central American countries with Washington's desire to preserve the contras as a military force at all costs, and you will realize that the next few weeks could be decisive for the entire process of a peaceful settlement in the region.

On the eve of the talks that started last Thursday at UN headquarters between representatives of the Nicaraguan Government and the "Nicaraguan resistance" with the participation of members of the International Commission for Support and Verification and an observer from Honduras, President D. Ortega put forward a number of new compromise proposals, including a pledge to halt weapons imports by the end of April 1990 and to effect a cease-fire across the country's territory. At the same time, he called on the Contras to immediately return to their bases in Honduras and lay down their weapons by 5 December. The Nicaraguan president stated that if this does not happen, the army will immediately be ordered to attack and drive the enemy out of the country by force.

This week the UN Security Council adopted a resolution on setting up a UN mission in Central America with a view to monitoring observance of the peace agreements signed by the presidents of the region's countries. This demonstrates a certain evolution in the position of the United States, which has long taken a negative view of attempts to send UN troops to Central America. This step may force the Contras to consent to demobilization before the Nicaraguan elections. However, the implementation of the resolution to disband them may encounter new obstacles.

According to a statement by Lieutenant Colonel P. Wheelock, chief of U.S. military intelligence, the CIA has developed a plan under which one-third of the counterrevolutionary forces would be demobilized in order to create the impression that they were carrying out the Honduran agreements. Another third would be kept in reserve in Honduras. The rest would be ordered to hide in mountainous areas of Nicaragua to continue their terrorist activity against the peaceful population with a view to forcing the people to vote for right-wing opposition candidates in the elections. [Passage omitted]

Economic Reform Conference

Session Considers Ways To Enhance Efficiency

PM1611165189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Economic Reform: Ways to Enhance Efficiency"]

[Excerpts] By associating the future with perestroyka, Soviet people realize that radical economic reform is the core of creative work for society's radical renewal. Its ultimate goal is a healthy economy capably of ensuring high efficiency of production, the people's prosperity on a par with modern standards, social justice, and the solution of acute ecological problems. The attainment of these goals demands the profound interpretation of the concept of reform and the elaboration of specific and realistic measures for its implementation.

An important contribution to their elaboration was made by the all-Union scientific-practical conference which ended its work in Moscow 15 November. Organized by the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy, it offered to a broad circle of scientists, sector and enterprise leaders, party and soviet officials, and trade union aktiv members an opportunity to exchange experiences in work aimed at overcoming the crisis phenomena in our economy, and helped to consolidate society's intellectual forces along an important avenue of work.

Its plenary sitting continued the intensive exchange of opinions on the entire range of questions under discussion. Speeches by A.A. Nikonov, president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences; V.F. Novikov, secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee; A.P. Vladislavlev, first secretary of the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies Board; V.M. Vologzhin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform Questions; V.P. Kasatkin, general director of the USSR Ministry of Shipbuilding "Pargale" Association; V.I. Shimko, USSR minister of the radio industry; A.A. Sergeyev, chief of department at the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] Higher School of the Trade Union Movement; O.V. Kazarov, secretary of Ulyanovsk Oblast CPSU Committee; V.G. Urchukin, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; and V.M. Rutgayzer, deputy director of the Center for Studies of Public Opinion under the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU, were devoted to ways to deepen the reform and enhance its effectiveness.

Leaders of the conference section and "round table" sessions, which were held the day before, reported on their work. They noted the creative, open, and benevolent nature of the debate.

An equally fruitful debate developed also in the conference lobbies. Many people are perturbed by the question: What has it given to people who have to exercise direct leadership of an enterprise, sector, or region? After all, the reform's success lies primarily in its deepening.

Minister V.I. Shimko said in particular: Expressing the opinion of practitioners, of people who actually work at enterprises, I must emphasize that we cannot advance without economic reform. I believe, he went on, that the development option we have chosen and which is outlined in the conference documents is comprehensive. We have waited a long time for such a strategic program in the form of a single document.

I would also like to mention something that is worrying. We are witnessing a weakening and contraction of the research and basic developments front due to the lack of direct economic interest in this work. There is also an obvious slowing down of the pace of assimilating new equipment due to rising costs. A series of ideas and proposals expressed during the debate offer an opportunity to overcome these dangerous trends, to make more efficient use of economic methods for accelerating scientific and technical progress, and consequently to more confidently implement the package of measures for the sectors' strategic development including, of course, social issues.

This viewpoint is shared by many of the forum's participants. [passage omitted summarizing Slyunkov's speech]

In his closing speech, L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform, emphasized the role and responsibility of science in shaping the strategy and tactics of reform and the enhancement of its effectiveness.

Conference Debates Recounted

PM1611162089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Report by A. Nikitin, V. Parfenov, and A. Fedotov: "Strategy and Tactics for Economic Reform: All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference"]

[Text] One of the features of the All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference is the extremely pithy nature of the reports and papers, which are not at all like the lengthy, glowing reports we were used to before. Listening to some of the speeches, you hold your breath, they are so full of ardor, enthusiasm, and sincere involvement in the problems of normalizing the economy.

There was a reason that the materials submitted for discussion by the conference participants were published in good time: Everyone had time, so to speak, to collect his thoughts, ponder the solution to this or that problem, and consider the various options.

This also led to another encouraging feature of the conference. The participants brought to Moscow not only ideas on the form that economic development should take, but also concrete programs of action aimed at radically improving the situation in the country. You cannot pave a road with words, as the saying goes, however correct those words. They must be followed by action. And action is the focal point of the substantive, committed dialogue among the participants in the All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference.

Let us look at some of their ideas from this viewpoint.

The many excesses that the public is experiencing in quick succession arise as a result of the clash of market and nonmarket, administrative methods of economic managmeent, N.Ya. Petrakov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economic-Mathematical Institute, believes. For instance, sales are beginning to be organized according to market laws, while supplies operate on the basis of administrative edict principles. The result: Price control is weakened and the producer's monopoly is strengthened. This leads to the flourishing of social demagoguery and the demand to protect the people from "raging" market forces. Although it is often not the market that is to blame, but its underdevelopment, its slackness.

It seems to me that the administrative system is obsolete not so much because it cannot eliminate shortages and fill the counters with goods, as because it is unable to create the conditions for the mass introduction of scientific and technical progress. Why should the system introduce anything new or assimilate the achievements of scientific and technical progress, when it can get along fine without it? The very term "introduce" suggests that the system does not automatically accept new technology. So is it surprising that there is a lack of market mechanisms that would make people fight for scientific and technical progress on the basis of the pricniples of competition?

N.Ya. Petrakov derives many of our ills from this lack of interest in the development of scientific and technical progress. One is the decrepit old planning concept, which needs replacing.

What new concept does he envisage? It should be based on the total division of management labor. We will get nowhere while economic organs are involved in a tug of war: a bigger state order, a smaller state order, abolish this indicator, introduce that one. And the result is that we mark time.

How can we get things moving? The principle is simple: Everyone should do his own job. Only those problems that cannot be eliminated at enterprise or association level should be handed over for higher bodies to resolve. That is where there is enormous scope for activity by central planning organs. The creation of the infrastructure, social programs of a nationwide nature, a system of social guarantees for the population, ecological problems, the monetary and financial system. But at the moment, by all appearances, the central organs have no time for resolving these problems. At the moment they are mainly "mollycoddling" the enterprises, telling them what to produce, what to sow, where to send their output....

How do workers on leading party organs look at the problem of the "division of labor" between economic leaders and managers, raised by N.Ya. Petrakov?

Political activity produces the necessary results only when it not only takes into account the real situation, but is based on a well founded long-term view, S.I. Gurenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, says on this point. But what do you often see in practice? Having overcome the confusion caused by the wave of summer miners' strikes, many party committees are still besieged by the urgent problems that concern the collectives. The imperfect system of social guarantees and the inconsistent and sometimes contradictory nature of decisions by central organs in the course of economic perestroyka are complicating and fueling the situation. Add to that the flourishing of "group egotism," the desire to obtain short-term advantages, and the wish to give as little as possible and take as much as possible—and the origin of the uncertainty felt by many leaders about tomorrow becomes clear.

I think it would be useful today to reevaluate our past experience, including the experience of party leadership of the economy, S.I. Gurenko says. You cannot write everything off without a second look. Many party committees did and still do much fruitful work in the sphere of increasing production efficiency and have sought and found solutions to complex questions which remain relevant today. Chief among these is the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The Ukrainian party organization has traditionally devoted great attention to the leadership of scientific and technical progress, resource-saving, and increasing production efficiency. Councils for the promotion of scientific and technical progress were at one time set up under the party Central Committee, oblast committees [obkoms], and city committees [gorkoms], and operated actively. This made it possible to pool the efforts of scientists and production workers in the most important areas and to tackle major scientific, technical, and economic problems effectively. As a result an effective system of management of scientific and technical progress was developed.

Now, however, because of the demarcation of functions of party, economic, and soviet organs this work has basically stopped.

Why is this? S.I. Gurenko named as one of the factors retarding scientific and technical progress the dilettante attitude to economics, whereby many leaders and specialists do not know its basics and cannot find their feet on concrete questions of the practical introduction of economic accountability and self-financing. They therefore work in the old way, intuitively, by rule of thumb.

Large-scale measures to develop the new economic thinking are needed. S.I. Gurenko sees this as a necessary step away from rally democracy toward normal economic relations in production.

Academician A.G. Aganbegyan, rector of the Academy of the National Economy, gave a positive assessment of L.I. Abalkin's report at the conference. But he was not satisfied with the section dealing with the normalization of the consumer market and financial normalization. Our government, the speaker noted, underestimates the dangers of the crisis situation in the financial sphere, the crisis on the consumer market. There must be no more delay in implementing urgent measures. After all, peresroyka must be judged not by words, but by deeds.

The crux of the problem lies not only in balancing the current growth in monetary income and the goods available to cover it. The most important thing is to tie up this surplus money. There are concrete proposals for how to tie it up. The sphere of paid services must be widened and the money accumulated by the population must be used for the large-scale improvement of housing conditions, the construction of garages, the purchase of garden plots with an infrastructure, the creation of leisure centers, the cquisition of stocks and shares that benefit the population, and so forth.

Of course, such measures are only the first step toward creating a developed consumer market. Real incentives must be created for the production of goods and the development of the service sphere. Sectors working for people must be placed in an advantageous position as regards supplies of material and technical resources. The training of economic cadres should now proceed at a preferential rate, since ultimately the quality of economic leaders largely determines the progress of perestroyka. This is indeed true, and the collective of the Academy of the National Economy is now working on a major program for improving cadre training, preparing proposals for the government.

In order to change the quality of teaching, we need a different teaching structure. Subjects connected with increasing economic efficiency and finding reserves to that end must be seen as paramount. It is necessary to teach a social approach, the art of working with people, and drastically to increase the role of legal knowledge for leaders. Disciplines like marketing must be made compulsory. It is important to provide ecological education and a knowledge of foreign economic relations and, of course, finance, credit, money, prices, and so forth. Leading world experience will be used to this end. A Higher Commercial School has been set up at the academy, and people not only study there, but also go on courses abroad.

One of the most difficult and at the same time urgent problems of perestroyka is the financial normalization of the economy. This problem is indissolubly linked to some degree with all the current processes in society. USSR Finance Minister V.S. Pavlov drew the conference's attention to a number of questions of principle.

First—the approach to perestroyka must be comprehensive. It is a question of a reform of the entire cost mechanism. Therefore there can be no time lag, still less differences in the principles of perestroyka in finances, prices, monetary circulation, credit, and planning.

Another link is between finances and prices. Individual normatives for payments and incentive funds have clear links with individual sector norms for profitability that are built into existing prices. That is why the new wholesale prices that were in preparation envisaged a single income norm for eveyrone, based on the principle: Equal profit for equal capital.

Delaying price reforms can only lead in practice to a lack of organization in production and monetary circulation. Price corresponds to value only in theory, and is always distinct from it. Price is most accurately determined by the market.

The finance minister also touched on the problem of prices and the plan. The proposed model, in his opinion, does not answer one fundamental question: What prices, what relationship between enterprises and the state will form the basis of the plan now being formulated at global level and enterprise level? If the plan is drawn up on the basis of the old normatives and prices, this will mean that we will come up against the same difficulties and problems that we encountered in the current 5-year plan.

The formulation of plans should therefore be based on the new prices and normatives. But we do not yet have them. We must in the very near future give our enterprises norms, normatives, rates, and pricing rules, if not the actual prices. Only then can a plan be formulated on the basis of the labor collectives' interests—from "below," not from "above."

In order to maintain our living standard we need 3-percent growth on average. If we do not grow, we will not simply stand still, we will fall behind. The living standard will inevitably fall. Therefore the forgotten word "acceleration," with which perestroyka began, must be revived and embodied in the entire mechanism.

To conclude his speech, the USSR finance minister spoke about discipline and responsibility. It is quite obvious that a powerful tax inspectorate must be created today, and it must take on the very important function of implementing an integrated financial policy.

Economic reform has opened up a new stage in the development of banking. This was the subject of the speech by V.V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR State Bank [Gosbank] Board. He noted in particular that the banking system set up by administrative methods in 1987 is not appropriate to the demands on it, does not promote the efficient use of credit, and does not stimulate the goods-money relationship or competition between banks.

It would be expedient to orient the further development of the banking system toward a transition to a two-tier system. There is an urgent need to provide the USSR Gosbank with real levers for controlling credits, monetary circulation, and the work of banking institutions. And through this, controlling the process of extended socialist reproduction with the aim of achieving material and financial balance and increasing the efficiency of the economy.

The second component of the credit system is commercial banks. They will be represented by specialized banks, departments and branches of these banks organized on joint-stock principles, and also other joint-stock, cooperative, and joint banking institutions.

What will this mean in practice? It will enable the specialized banks to choose for themselves the most effective management system, appropriate to actual economic conditions. At the same time it will promote the development of economic accountability principles in the credit sphere, the strengthening of direct economic ties, the formation of real partnership relationships between the banks and their clients, and the reasonable, rational universalization of the activity of credit institutions.

In the interests of preserving the single leadership of the banking system in the form of the USSR Gosbank and pursuing an effective monetary and credit policy, the process of transforming specialized banks into joint-stock commercial banks and the wide development of a network of commercial banking institutions should proceed in parallel with the strengthening of the legal positions of the USSR Gosbank as the central organ and the stepping up of its role within the structure of organs of state management. This will create the conditions for ensuring the optimum combination of the autonomy of commercial banks and the interests of the national economy as a whole.

It is quite clear that the transition to a two-tier banking system could take place as the socialist market develops, without artificial acceleration of the processes of transforming specialized state banks into commercial banks.

In some ways our conference reminds me of the 7 November parade in 1941, Academician S.S. Shatalin said. Today we are tackling many questions in a very strained, explosive atmosphere. This places all the more responsibility on us....

The scholar touched on the problem of ownership. What kind of ownership do we have: social or socialist? Or is it the same thing? Is it really impossible to create the conditions for equality between state activity and individual labor activity? It seems to me, the academician noted, that we should be talking about equality and unity of all forms of ownership. And then questions like what is farmer's ownership [fermerskaya sobstvennost] and whether or not it is socialist will disappear of their own accord. I think there should be clear answers to these questions.

In particular, I do not understand what citizens' ownership is. It is some kind of politico-economic invention. People apparently incorporate in it elements of personal ownership, elements of what we consume, the fruits of individual labor activity, and so forht. So it is not a very precise term. I think our further development will involve a gradual reduction in the state sector's share. We must be more pragmatic. We have to get our heavy cart on the road. Not only the fate of individuals, but the fate of our entire people depends on this.

When there are different levels of prosperity in life, the motivation system operates in different ways. For instance, motivating someone who has a large income is very different from motivating someone who has a small income. For one person a raise of R100 is a strong incentive, for another not really. Many people think the best thing is to have good working conditions, to work for a nice collective. We are not yet taking this into account in our global social policy. This question must be given all-around consideration.

What I do not understand, S.S. Shatalin said, is: What is regional economic accountability? Economic accountability can only exist in the conditions of a collective that is equipped with the means of production. Regional economic accountability can only arise if we want people in the localities to take autonomous decisions. What is important is for the region to resolve social problems, and business—economic problems. Only then will there be great benefits.

Economists were writing about the looming disaster of inflation 2 years ago, Academician O.T. Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, said. A year ago, leading Soviet scientists discussed all this at a conference with N.I. Ryzhkov. More exhaustive and comprehensive measures than those contained in the conference materials, measures of an urgent nature, were proposed. The idea of adopting a special program to normalize the situation in the country was also put forward. And here we are again, in almost the same place.

First and foremost we must take steps to save our ruble, the speaker went on. Perhaps the state should take the step of issuing—in parallel with our existing money—new money like the chervontsy [R10 bank notes in circulation 1922-1947] of the twenties. Its free convertibility into foreign currency goods would be guaranteed by the creation of corresponding markets and market supplies. At first the market served by this currency would be very limited. But it would generate effective incentives for expanding the production of goods and services and for attracting foreign capital.

World experience and our own experience indicates that agriculture, light industry, and the food industry are the msot responsive to market incentives. Therefore this is where we should begin the development of the market mechanism. An important and urgent task in the sphere of agrarian relations, the land use system, and the diversity of forms of ownership envisaged in the draft Law on Ownership must concern land. A Land Survey must be set up and a tax exacted on land depending on its quality. A system of fines is needed for vacant land or land that is poorly utilized.

State enterprises working for the consumer market and hard currency exports should receive no less rights and freedom than cooperatives as regards the development of busienss initiative, the setting of wage levels, and the choice of suppliers and consumers.

Of course, it is we ourselves who must make the main effort to emerge from the crisis. But unless we utilize the benefits of international cooperation and have help from the West, many tasks, especially as regards overcoming technical laggardness and improving the standard of work, labor discipline, and the level of organization of production and sales, will be beyond our powers.

It is true enough to say that we must move on from the concept to the reality. But the main difficulty is that we do not yet have an overall concept, P.G. Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted. The draft laws now under examination are only parts of a single whole. Not only economically, but also politically. Although all these documents apparently continue and supplement one another externally and internally, and sometimes even repeat one another, all the same there is no single, clear map of the radical reform. Why not? The draft laws are formulated by different groups of people who view their tasks and objectives in different ways.

Of course, ideally all the laws would be brought in together. But we do not have time to wait for them all to be formulated. So the problem of the order in which they are introduced is very important. But here too you need a kind of "critical mass" initially. This role could be played by, say, a law on the system of central management. But this does not yet exist. We are faced with a bias in the direction of successes for secondary laws at the expense of the most basic. We are simply wasting time, losing the logic of continuity, and therefore lessening the effectiveness of the decisions adopted. Even now we sense that many of the laws under discussion cannot work under the old pricing system, without a definition of its concrete sphere of operation. I am talking about central (standardized) prices, contract prices, market prices, free prices—with this last category eventually predominating. Only then will it be possible to reconcile the interests of various forms of economic management. I think the Law on the Lease system should be adopted first and foremost. It has been well drafted and is simple in itself. Today this is a concrete means of giving people an immediate interest in the results of their labor. The lease operator is halfway to being a proprietor. The Law on Ownership will then develop and strengthen these positions. And for the time being we need a law on taxation that would cover lease relations at least in the first instance. The logic of progress in the transitional stage is unique. There are no models to follow, at home or abroad. Such periods are always unique and do not respond to ready-made patterns. Everything is changing both in time and in nature. But not everything changes at the same pace. No one else's experience can suggest anything concrete here. Therefore the first draft laws, however much we may try to orient them toward the future, could be short-lived. A new situation will develop and will dictate new laws and major amendments to those already adopted. And scientists and politicians should always be prepared for such changes. A transitional period is good because it opens up the way to a creative approach, but it is also bad, because by no means all the people are ready to understand that. The inertia of cadres is great. They do not know what will happen tomorrow, and therefore they do not trust it. And those who are living comfortably even without perestroyka trust it even less. Therefore the old is often stronger than the new. But that will not last long.

I think there is no more important task for scientists today than the comprehensive formulation and creation of an efficiently operating economic system, K.T. Turysov, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, said. A system which would be the basis of a true people's state with the wide use of democratic management elements, full economic accountability, self-financing, a greater role for labor collectives, and greater responsibility on their part for the state of affairs in production. In other words, the discussion of problems of the relationship between politics and economics, self-management, and the economic responsibility of the collectives of plants, factories, and mines to the public is more urgent than ever before.

In order to resolve these problems in practice, work of very great importance and scope lies ahead, with the aim of creating a rule-of-law state. We have only just begun this work. This leads to an avalanche of problems and complexities. We have encountered them before, but we did not discuss them among the whole people, and therefore did not resolve them. What are these problems? Forms of ownership, the nature of hired labor under socialism, the employment problem, social guarantees for the population... I think all these problems will be resolved as long as we do not repeat our past mistake in policy and in practice: as long as we do not raze everything to the ground so as to create something new and consign to oblivion the socialist assets already achieved. These should form the foundations for a radically renewed socialist edifice.

I believe I am not mistaken in saying that this conference is particularly useful for us economic leaders, observed V.I. Shimko, USSR minister of radio industry. Why? We are always tackling particular fragments of the global problems of development of the radical reform. Concrete details matter, you cannot move a step without them. This makes it all the more necessary for us to have a broad, overall picture of the present-day economic process. Having studied that process and mastered the secrets of science, we will find it easier to tackle urgent practical tasks. Would it perhaps be a good idea for the conference participants and its organizing committee to consider holding a similar scientific forum for economists every year?

Now I will turn to what is perhaps of most concern to us practical people, what should be the main "theme tune," so to speak, of the conference. This is the future of the scientific and technical revolution in our country. It is wholly in the hands of the state sector, which is being renewed by the reform. The state sector of the national economy was and will remain the main, basic sector, so to speak, of our economy. And particular attention must be devoted to discussing the paths of its progress. I say that because I am afraid that in the heat of ardent debates about cooperatives or peasant farms we may forget the most important thing. Our problems of renewal and perestroyka are far greater, and much more serious. First and foremost antimonopoly measures must be formulated and adopted. There is much talk about this, but not much is done.

I greet the participants in this conference and wholeheartedly envy them, said L.D. Yaroshenko, member of the CPSU since 1919 and participant in the All-Union Debate of 1951. In the conditions of glasnost and openness, scientists now conduct debates on the most topical, contentious problems of the development of economic theory. All Soviet people will hear about the conference. Its main reports will, I hope, be published. Nothing like that happened in 1951, when all the materials were regarded as secret, and the transcript has not been published to this day. A number of "dissidents" were repressed. I myself did not escape imprisonment. For what? For trying to hold a discussion with Stalin by letter.

I would like to highlight what I see as the most important of all the problems of economic theory. A political economy of socialism has not yet been created. The best scientific forces must be used to create it. There can be no progress without science. All the conditions have now been created for fruitful work of this nature by scientists. These conditions must be exploited without delay.

Sections and "roundtables" were in action at the conference yesterday. It completes its work today.

We have chosen only a few of the many views on the development of the economy. The debate that flared up in the sections and at "roundtable" sessions was acute, complex, and sometimes even fierce. But whereas we became convinced that the truth cannot always be measured by a "forest of hands," by a unanimous vote, the high temperature of the conference can only be welcomed. After all, the truth is born in dispute.

One would like to think that we will all feel the benefits of the scientific and practical conference in the near future—in the shape of the changes we are waiting for in our lives.

Supreme Soviet Session

Legislation Committee Member on Ownership Law

PM1611170089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Legal Sciences Yu. Kalmykov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, under the rubric "Discussion Platform": "The Law on Ownership: What Form Should It Take?"]

[Text] The main problem that must be resolved in present-day conditions is to eliminate the worker's alienation from the means of production and make him a true proprietor who really owns the products of his labor. It is well known that according to Marx, ownership is the process of appropriation of material assets and the relationship to them as being one's own. For many years we regarded the socialization of the main means of production as our society's most important achievement, because the people were deemed to be their owner. But with time it became clear that the actual producer is in effect cut off from the means of production and regards them as someone else's—as assets that belong not to him, but to the state. The property of the whole people was often regarded as no one's property, which led to many negative consequences: the cost-based economy, embezzlements, thriftlessness. The alienation of the worker from the means of production must be ended.

But how are we to achieve this goal? Many methods are proposed. One of them is to revive private ownership in the conditions of our social system.

Is this a realistic recommendation? I would not answer that question in the affirmative. Furthermore I would resolutely oppose those who advocate the revival of private ownership. The critical state of the Soviet economy is based on quite specific factors: the excessive centralization of national economic management, the total statization of socialist property, the diktat of ministries and departments, their transformation in effect into the owners of the results of social labor, and the severe limitations on the potential of the basic components of the national economy—enterprises and associations.

The task is to eliminate the above causal factors. To be more specific, this task must be resolved in the Law on Ownership by means of a certain degree of destatization of ownership; by recording in law the diversity of forms of socialist ownership; and by granting considerably greater opportunities to the citizen to exercise personal ownership, in particular through the utilization of new forms like the labor partnership [trudovoye khozyaystvo].

What we mean by a certain degree of destatization of ownership is, on the one hand, splitting it up at various levels, which implies the existence of all-union ownership, ownership by republics and autonomous formations, and community [kommunalnyy] ownership; and on the other hand, substantially relaxing the centralized management of the economy.

It is expedient, in particular, to make provision for such forms as ownership by labor collectives and ownership by people's enterprises, cooperatives, economic fellowships, joint-stock companies, economic associations, social organizations, and other associations of citizens.

As for the citizens, apart from new rules like the possibility of owning apartments in the state, cooperative, or other housing stock, it is necessary to enshrine in the new law another phenomenon that we are not used to, namely ownership by the labor collective. The opportunity to have in one's personal ownership a small bakery, cafe, hairdresser's, or other enterprises at which members of the family work is envisaged for the first time in our legislation.

In connection with the above, I would like to emphasize two points in particular. First, the system of entities with property rights [subyekty prava sobstvennosti] gives prominence to ownership by citizens. This legislative method is used deliberately, because it emphasizes the main thinking and idea behind the law—the entire system of ownership relations should serve Soviet people's interests. Second, citizens' property is henceforth deemed to be socialist property. Under the existing USSR Constitution it is classified separately from socialist property, apparently because only social forms of ownership count among the latter. Some economists also believe that personal property should not be classified as socialist property. They say it lacks the characteristics of the latter. But both by its economic nature and on practical grounds of a legal nature, personal property should be examined within the system of socialist ownership relations.

Personal property is derived primarily from socialist property, from the citizen's participation in social production, and by virtue of this fact alone it acquires the nature of socialist property. It does not entail the appropriation of the results of other people's labor, but is based on labor in socialist social production and the acquisition of a part of the global social product in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor effort expended. And another thing. Categorizing personal property as socialist means that the system of legal norms governing these relations is extended to cover personal property, that is to say, the standard of legislative regulation of the said relations is greatly improved. Such regulation will, for instance, lift the restrictions on the protection of citizens' property that exist in legislation today and place all forms of property on equal terms in this respect.

Coming back to the question of the possibility of the restoration of private ownership in our country, I would like once again to stress that apart from anything else, this cannot offer a way out of the critical situation that has grown up in the economy. Private ownership is an alien means of individual appropriation and always entails the appropriation of the results of other people's labor, that is, exploitation. But this is a stage our state has already passed through. The process of building a humane, democratic socialism should be based on socialist ideals.

The way out of the crisis situation must be sought not in a return to private ownership, but in the wide utilization of diverse forms of socialist ownership, the emancipation of state ownership, and the fair evaluation of the results of individual labor. Incidentally, the labor partnership which the Law on Ownership will, it is proposed, make provision for is not, as some researchers think, private ownership or a private business. It is a form of socialist economic management, because it is based on the labor activity of the producers themselves. The law must emphasize that family members and other persons jointly conducting a labor partnership business may have in their ownership business premises, machines, equipment, and raw and semifinished materials used in the production and manufacture of output, as well as other property necessary for the autonomous management of the business.

The main point about a labor partnership is that it uses the labor of members of a citizen's family and of other persons jointly conducting the labor partnership business. It is also important that production facilities must here be used for the autonomous management of the business. In other words, the possibility of appropriation of the results of other people's labor is ruled out.

One must agree that among the diverse forms of socialist ownership the law should also make provision for a totally new form—ownership by the labor collective. Some organizations came out against enshrining this form in the law, on the grounds that the corresponding provisions on ownership by the labor collective can only be applied to a leased enterprise. But leased enterprises and ownership by the labor collective are different forms.

The possibility of the emergence and utilization of property belonging to the labor collective is discussed in the materials of the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum. Its essence is that the share of profits that is formed as a result of the enterprise's economic activity and is the source of the labor collective's property arises, develops, and increases within a state enterprise. Constantly increasing, it drives out state property, and in the event of the entire property of an enterprise being transferred to the ownership of the labor collective, one of the forms of collective ownership will ensue: a people's enterprise, cooperative, economic fellowship, or joint-stock company.

The chief merit of ownership by the labor collective is that the process of appropriation of the results of social production here becomes more tangible, real, and individualized; each worker's share depends primarily on his labor contribution.

The Law on Ownership should state that within the property belonging to a labor collective, the size of the contributions of all members of the labor collective to the creation of its property resulting from personal labor participation, as well as the financial and other property investments of a member of the labor collective, is defined. The size of the contribution of a member of the labor collective is defined annually in accordance with a procedure laid down by the labor collective.

The property of a labor collective differs from the leased enterprise in that it belongs directly to the labor collective, whereas under the lease system the enterprise remains state-owned until such time as it is bought out by a collective of lease operators.

The Law on Ownership should provide for a new approach to the problem of enterprises' rights to the property assigned to them. After the adoption of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) the said powers were expressed through the concept of the proprietor [khozyain] of the property of the whole people, although the labor collectives did not in fact become true proprietors. So it is necessary to stipulate a rule under which property which belongs to the state and is assigned to a state enterprise belongs to it on the basis of the right of full economic control [pravo polnogo khozyaystvennogo vedeniya]. The "right of full economic control" is not only a new concept, it embodies a totally new, innovative approach to the question of defining an enterprise's potential with regard to the property assigned to it. The most important characteristic of the right of full economic control is that it is equivalent to the right of ownership. In other words, it must be stressed that the rules governing the right of ownership also apply to the right of full economic control, unless the law provides differently. This means that all the main questions of property management should be transferred to the competence of the enterprise itself, and that the enterprise will genuinely acquire the status of proprietor of the property of the whole people. Management organs only deal with questions of the creation of the enterprise, define the objectives of its activity and the placement of state orders there, and monitor the safekeeping of the property entrusted to the enterprise.

As has been noted, the Law on Ownership should be based on the need to consolidate and encourage diverse forms of socialist ownership. For instance, within the category of collective ownership provision must be made for such forms as ownership by: the labor collective, people's enterprises, cooperatives, economic fellowships, the joint-stock company, economic associations, social organizations, and religious organizations. State ownership, in turn, is subdivided into unionwide ownership, ownership by union republics and autonomous formations, and community ownership. The question of ownership of land and other natural resources should be dealt with separately.

This last problem has proved the most complex and contentious. Representatives of a number of union republics have called for land and other natural resources to be deemed to be the property solely of the republics; furthermore some republics have already enshrined this right in legislation. A proposal that the land, mineral resources, forests, waters, and the animal world be deemed the property of autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs has also been put forward by representatives of many autonomous formations.

In short, the problem that has arisen is of a more general and fundamental nature: the relationship between the competence of the USSR and the union republics and between union republics and autonomous formations, the fusion of statewide and regional interests, and ultimately the principles of the structure of the Soviet federation.

One option for resolving this problem proceeds on the basis that the land and other natural resources are the inalienable property of the peoples living in a given territory and come under the ownership of the relevant union republic, autonomous republic, or other autonomous formation and of the USSR. Thus natural resources are ultimately deemed to be the property of the union republic or autonomous formation and of the USSR. Virtually all the powers regarding management of the land, mineral resources, forests, waters, and the animal world are exercised by the union republics and autonomous formations themselves. The USSR owns, enjoys, and participates in the management of the land and other natural resources only in cases where this is necessary to ensure defense and the country's security or other unionwide and interrepublican needs.

Finally it is important to stress that the option here cited clearly incorporates for the first time the idea that the land and other natural resources are the property of the peoples living in a given territory. At the same time it incorporates the desire to ensure that the interests of union and autonomous republics and other autonomous formations and of the USSR are combined as well as possible. It is hard to say at present how this difficult question will be resolved at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. One thing is clear: the country's highest legislative body is called upon to settle it on a just basis, taking into account the interests of union republics, autonomous formations, and the USSR. A decision must be adopted that will not weaken, but strengthen our federation.

13 Nov Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

PM1611154589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Morning Edition pp 1-2

[Report by parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and A. Stepovoy: "Important Decisions Made at USSR Supreme Soviet Second Session"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The [13 November] evening sitting began with M.S. Gorbachev in the chair. Supreme Soviet First Deputy Chairman A.I. Lukyanov reported on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proposals on the date and agenda of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It was proposed that the Congress be convened 12 December 1989 in Moscow, last for approximately 7 working days, and consider the issues which are listed on page 1 of IZVESTIYA in a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution.

An 80-person commission has been set up to prepare for and conduct the Congress of People's Deputies. It includes, in particular, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the chairmen of committees and commissions, people's deputies representing all the main regions and nationalities, and members of the government. But, the speaker stressed, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expresses the hope that all the people's deputies will be active participants in this work.

People's Deputies N.S. Sazonov, E.V. Bichkauskas, A.A. Sobchak, A.M. Obolenskiy, R.A. Medvedev, A.D. Sakharov, Yu.Yu. Boldyrev, V.I. Samarin, V.A. Logunov, G.S. Igityan, N.N. Medvedev, and others asked the keynote speaker a whole range of questions. How and when is it proposed to adopted the law on ownership? Why is there no law on land on the agenda? Did the Presidium session discuss the question of an accountability report to the Congress by the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman? Ought there not to be an early rotation of deputies who, because of the demands of their primary occupations, regularly fail to attend the session? What is the commission to draft a new Constitution doing? Will the congress speak out on the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact? Is it right to consider Article 6 of the USSR Constitution at the Congress of People's Deputies?

Perhaps the fiercest and lengthiest debate was on the last question. People's Deputy N.V. Fedorov said that not only was this article not in Lenin's Constitution but it was not even in subsequent constitutions. He was supported by People's Deputy V.A. Gubarev, who believes that the implementation of the principles of people's power and the building of a rule-of-law state is impossible unless the aforementioned article is revoked. People's Deputies V.A. Chelyshev, N.A. Kutsenko and some others also proposed that Article 6 be submitted for discussion by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Without calling into question the party's leading role and its vanguard position in proclaiming and implementing perestroyka, the speakers said that the party must by its day-to-day actions confirm its right to lead. This can only enhance its authority in the eyes of the people.

There were objections from other parliamentarians. In particular, People's Deputy V.M. Desyatov objected to the revocation of article 6 and even to the discussion of the issue. There are far more important matters. For example, we have no legal mechanism preventing a new Stalin from appearing in the country and it must be formulated on a priority basis. I am a nonparty person, People's Deputy I.A. Andreyeva said, but I believe that the talk about article 6 is speculative and farfetched. Honest party people and a high degree of exactingness and demandingness on the part of party members—these are the force that determines the success of perestroyka.

The arguments on this question continued even after the debate was concluded and voting was taking place on proposed additions to the Congress agenda in the order in which they were listed. When they reached that item, People's Deputy G.P. Razumovskiy rose to speak. Would it be correct to raise the issue of Article 6 at all, he asked, in view of the fact that the party has started perestroyka? Who benefits from this? Perhaps those who would like to sow distrust of the work that is under way and nullify the party's efforts to consolidate society? In reply Deputy V.I. Karasev said: I am a Communist and I am not opposed to the article remaining in the USSR Constitution, but I want its right to exist in the Basic Law to be confirmed by an organ of power that the people regard as authoritative: the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The protracted debate was rounded off by M.S. Gorbachev. One of the first steps of perestroyka, he said, was the reform of the political system—in particular, demarcation of the functions of the party and the soviets. We deliberately embarked on this path, although we knew that it would be difficult and even—as it has turned out—painful. The party itself has begun to be overhauled, in order that it should be relieved of economic activity that is not proper to it and increasingly become society's political vanguard. The process is continuing, and it is to bring about its completion that we have decided to hold an extraordinary [vneocherednoy] party congress and to debate at it programmatic issues and the new Statutes. It will be a turning point in the CPSU's history, a step that corresponds to the tasks and goals of perestroyka.

But is it necessary to submit the question for discussion at the Congress of People's Deputies, when it is already being discussed by the people, and pretty vigorously at that? In my view, M.S. Gorbachev went on, a large section of society is alarmed at the attempts to belittle the party's role and deal it a blow at such a crucial time in the country's life. By making this an emergency, constitutional issue, he stressed, we would be causing unnecessary anxiety in our society. I believe that the Constitutional Commission will in due course submit all its proposals on amendments and additions to the USSR Basic Law as suggested by life itself and by the people as a whole.

But then, before the voting actually got under way, People's Deputy Yu.Yu. Boldyrev proposed an individual vote. The results were as follows: 198 for, 173 against, and 28 abstentions. The question of including on the agenda consideration of article 6 of the USSR Constitution was rejected. [passage omitted]

Further on Supreme Soviet Rehabilitation Debate

PM1611122589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov, A. Stepovoy report under the rubric "At the Second Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet": "Preparing For the Second Congress"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The 14 November evening sitting chaired by Ye.M. Primakov discussed a draft document which has been long awaited by millions and millions of Soviet people. On instructions from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, proposed the draft Declaration on the Complete Political Rehabilitation of Peoples Subjected to Forced Resettlement for discussion by the session.

The day before, M.S. Gorbachev had sent a letter to the Supreme Soviet, saying the following:

"Esteemed Comrades!

"On the basis of proposals made at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet session, and the CPSU Central Committee plenum on questions of nationalities policy and numerous statements in the press and at public rallies and meetings, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium feels it advisable that the USSR Supreme Soviet session adopt the Declaration on the Complete Political Rehabilitation of Peoples Subjected to Forced Resettlement in the Period of the Personality Cult.

"In our opinion, this document must decisively condemn the forced resettlement of peoples as an antisocialist, absolutely unlawful practice. Stalin's tyranny and violence must be given a political, legal, and moral assessment as a crime against the Soviet peoples. The declaration would be a legal act guaranteeing that such actions will never be repeated.

"The legislative rehabilitation of repressed peoples will have important significance for strengthening their national dignity, restoring historical truth, and improving social morality."

The first speaker, USSR People's Deputy D.N. Kugultinov, objected to the term "political rehabilitation." Why? Is it really possible to rehabilitate people who did not commit any crimes and who suffered solely because they thought differently from others? It is wrong to attribute human and legal aspects to the brutal actions of Stalin's butchers. the deputy stressed. We must talk frankly about the genocide and physical and moral extermination of entire peoples. The Kalmyks were scattered from the Urals to Kamchatka and placed in inhuman conditions. But people survived because Russians, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Uzbeks—ordinary people—did not allow them to die.

D.N. Kugultinov cited examples of how brave, distinguished frontline fighters who gave their lives in battle were not only deprived of the right to high awards on grounds of nationality but were also deprived of their family home. He strongly and very convincingly raised the question of restoring the old names to population centers, streets, and so forth which now bear the names of those responsible for the terror unleashed against the people. [passage omitted]

While fully sharing the bitter feelings which prevailed in the auditorium this evening, the chairman, Ye.M. Primakov, was nevertheless forced to remind people that they should not be impatient and that it was not a resolution now being adopted but an important political document providing a general assessment of events in the Stalinist years. Normative acts will follow the declaration and work on them is in progress. [Passage omitted]

The declaration is a document of enormous political, historical, and moral significance, USSR People's Deputy A.D. Sakharov said. I believe that the list of peoples given in it is not complete and that it should list in full all the peoples subjected to resettlement. Instead of the words on rehabilitation, quite different words should be used: On restoring full justice to the peoples subjected to genocide and on unconditional condemnation of the criminal acts committed by the Stalinist regime. [passage omitted]

Deputies Cited on Attacks on Armed Forces

PM1611143589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Interview with three USSR people's deputies by unnamed parliamentary correspondent: "Attacks on Army? What USSR People's Deputies Think of This"; date and place of interview not stated]

[Excerpt] Recently not only in the mass media but also at various gatherings, meetings, and congresses of people's fronts and even sometimes at the USSR Supreme Soviet session it has been possible to hear unjustified rebukes against the Armed Forces and attempts to diminish the role of military-patriotic education and the prestige of army and navy servicemen.

In the interval between sittings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's parliamentary correspondent asked several people's deputies what they think about today's army and its prestige in society.

S.Ye. Savitskaya, first deputy chairman of the board of the Soviet Peace Fund, Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

I think that criticism against the army is in some respect fair, for instance "hazing" exists and we should combat it. But when the universally respected Chingiz Aytmatov mounts the rostrum and begins to try to vindicate a man who has gone abroad merely in order to take his son away from service in the army, I categorically refuse to accept or understand that. Especially now that students no longer serve. On the other hand, even if the resolution on students' release from service had not yet been adopted [sentence without main clause as published]. What are you to do, that was the law. It may have been bad, but it was in operation. And if a man tries to run away from army service and to shift his right to protect the state onto the shoulders of his contemporaries in class or at home, saying let anyone but me stand with a gun in his hand—here I see primarily a lack of patriotism, a lack of love for his motherland.

I am very concerned that recently the mass media seem to have been circumventing the subject of patriotism and the subject of the motherland. It is true that now, in my view, a resurrection of these feelings is emerging. Slowly and painfully, but there is a change under way.

It must be said that in the previous 3-4 years there has been a gradual increase not in the criticism of history and historical thinking but simply in the discrediting of our past. And it has gotten to the point where many people have begun to be embarrassed to utter the word "motherland," for instance, and the word "patriot" has become virtually an insult. Of course I am exaggerating, but the mass media have also made their contribution to this process.

Now we are looking, and in many respects rightly, at the United States and the other developed countries of Western Europe which were once considered our opponents but have now become our partners in international cooperation and survival on earth. But let's take the United States. After all, a feeling of patriotism is inherent in everyone there irrespective of whether a person arrived in the United States 10 years ago or is an indigenous inhabitant. We know that there is the cult of the state flag, the cult of the national anthem there, and people are proud to live in America. But in our country it has recently become fashionable, I suppose, to insult one's country. Of course, there is a mass of shortcomings in the Union and in no circumstances do I want to say that everything is well in our country. But we are to blame ourselves for a great deal. We work badly. We spend more time talking and having meetings. We have lost our sense of responsibility. It was lost gradually during the years of stagnation. So I think we could learn a sense of patriotism, a sense of responsibility, even from the Americans. We even opened the congress of people's deputies without the state anthem and the state flag appeared only a few days later after reminders. Yet that is precisely where patriotic education begins.

Is that not the origin of the degradation of our attitude toward the army? Toward the army which is trying to preserve all those concepts sacred to every Soviet person—patriotism and dignity and love for the motherland. Military people are not embarassed by these feelings. And we must say thank you for that.

S.S. Alekseyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

As someone who once gave several years of his life to military service I believe that one feature of a civilized state and an expression of its culture is its attitude toward the army. Toward the people who give their lives, their best years for the sake of society, taking no account of difficulties and deprivations, standing on the front lines of the defense of our fatherland. And I think that attacks on the army are extremes of some kind which are perhaps spontaneous phenomena resulting from the uncontrolled processes which now exist. I am filled with optimism and I am sure that with time everything will sort itself out and the army will be rendered its due, which it deserves in terms of its essence, its mission, and its function.

I would not give unequivocal assessments that all this is being done in the mainstream of belittling the importance of patriotism and love for the motherland. There is much here which is as yet simply known. And I would not dramatize the situation. It seems to me that civic feelings and civic conscience will ultimately have their important say.

Yu.D. Chernichenko, writer and television journalist:

But who is being attacked? Let's take a look: It is the peasant or worker's family. Are we attacking our own son? I am deeply convinced that service is the execution of the constitutional duty to safeguard the fatherland. My son was drafted to protect the state and not to dig ditches or clean potatoes. I see nothing more humiliating for a soldier than the construction battalions. The construction battalion is forced labor in shoulder boards. For me that is shameful. I do not regard this way of putting the question as constitutional. Especially as a certain undemocratic division of people is expressed in the construction troops. As is well known, they are formed from uneducated, poorly trained young men who cannot be put in front of a missile control panel or assigned to a submarine. That is why, as the Novyy Mir article "The Construction Battalion" assesses the situation, morals which must be eradicated prevail there.

It seems to me that public anger against "hazing," such as never existed in the Russian Army, is nonetheless helping the army to combat this vice. [passage omitted]

Actor Proposed for Culture Minister

LD1611181489 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The next Soviet minister of culture might well be a leading theatre actor, if the candidature of Nikolay Gubenko, director of the Moscow Taganka Drama and Comedy Theatre known for its unusual and bold productions, is successful.

"If I am appointed minister, I shall not give up acting at the Taganka theatre," 48-year-old Gubenko told journalists today after a meeting of several parliamentary committees and commissions, dealing with questions of culture, which discussed his candidature.

The USSR Ministry of Culture has been without a minister for almost five months now. At the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet last summer the deputies declined the government's proposal to appoint Vasiliy Zakharov, who earlier held the post.

In the course of the discussion it was stated that Soviet republics might well do without an All-Union Ministry of Culture. But a different viewpoint prevailed: In a multinational state such a government agency is necessary, but its functions should substantially change.

Presenting Gubenko to the deputies today, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov said that to define new mutual relations in the sphere of culture between the centre and the republics would be one of the main and most difficult tasks to face the would-be minister.

The solution of this problem will ensure the development of Soviet culture, without infringing the national traditions of Soviet nations.

Gubenko in his speech said that the consolidation of republican sovereignty should not lead to the isolation of national cultures. The ministry, he believes, should bring republican proposals into a single state cultural programme, but not "direct" the process of creativity.

It is necessary to protect culture from arbitrary official rule, he said. Restrictions on creativity, including censorship, should be lifted, he noted. A way out of the crisis in that sphere can be found, although it will take much time, he believes.

Gubenko's honest and realistic programme has seemingly convinced the deputies and they unanimously decided to recommend to parliament that Gubenko be endorsed as Soviet minister of culture.

Deputies Give News Conference on Language Law

LD1611203289 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—At a news conference here today, people's deputies described the bill on languages of peoples of the USSR as a thoroughly balanced compromise. A first reading of the bill was approved by the Soviet parliament yesterday.

Georgiy Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Nationalities Policy, said that during the debate in parliament various opinions were expressed, and there were even statements that there is no need to adopt a law on languages.

It was proposed to adopt a declaration on the use of the Russian language as a means of interrepublican communication, and to adopt laws on languages in republics.

Deputy Sergey Shuvalov said that the very fact of the existence of a federal state, which the Soviet Union is, requires that Russian be used as the official language. As a result of historic processes, the majority of the country's population knows Russian.

Speaking at the news conference, Vadim Solontsev, director of the Institute of Linguistic Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said that not a single multi-ethnic state can avoid bilingualism.

A number of Soviet republics proclaimed their native languages official languages of late. This fact in itself is a positive one, but it should not lead to the heightening of interethnic tension and to the placement of unnecessary language barriers.

The scientist said that there are many allegations regarding language problems.

Some say that the policy aimed at gradual dying out of many languages was conducted in the country.

Facts attest to a different thing. Approximately 130 languages function in the Soviet Union though certainly in a different measure. The written languages of 50 peoples were created in the years of Soviet power.

Supreme Soviet Commissions' Agenda Listed

LD1711110189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet session will continue today. USSR people's deputies will work in committees and commissions. All their programs are intense; after all, only a plenary sitting is proposed for next week. This means it is necessary to finish preparing all the necessary documents, draft laws, and decisions in time. At the center of the deputies' attention are the draft fundamental legislation on leasing and leasing relations and a law on the general principles for the leadership of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics.

The Committee on International Affairs has invited USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to its session. This session will be extended. All deputies who wish to may take part in it.

Today a session of the temporary committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the battle against crime in the USSR and a joint session of the People's Control Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Consumer Goods will also take place.

Shevardnadze Attends Committee Meeting

LD1711125189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 17 November carries a 5-minute report by Marina Novitskaya on the work of the Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs. All deputies wishing to participate in the meeting, as well as USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, were invited. Novitskaya recalls Shevardnadze's 23 October 1989 report at the Supreme Soviet session in which he presented the government's foreign policy. At that session deputies posed questions on the policy and attended the 17 November session of the Committee on International Affairs to hear the answers. Novitskaya notes Deputy Zasokhov, head of the committee, opened the session.

"Comrade Shevardnadze began, nevertheless, not with answers to the questions," Novitskaya says, "Comrade Shevardnadze recalled that the visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Finland was an extraordinary event. It showed once again that two states with different social systems can act effectively together, confirming the new political thinking. The minister imparted his impressions on his visit to Poland and thoughts on how our bilateral relations should develop."

Novitskaya reminds the listeners that Poland's Mazowiecki will soon visit the USSR. "Comrade Shevardnadze touched upon many other aspects of international policy and spoke of how the meeting of foreign ministers of Warsaw Treaty member-states has passed and assessed the dynamic changes in the process of mutual relations between countries of Europe and the progress along the path of implementing the concept of the common European home. The upcoming visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the head of the Soviet state, to Italy will also serve this, the first at such a level in the history of relations between our two countries. The first meeting will also take place then with the head of the Catholic Church in the Vatican," Novitskaya continues.

Speaking of the forthcoming Bush-Gorbachev summit, Shevardnadze "expressed the confidence that it will have great significance in the further progress of the world and of the country. Comrade Shevardnadze also answered questions which were asked at the session itself of the Supreme Soviet and those which the deputies had accumulated until today. He answered openly and seriously," Novitskaya notes. Novitskaya's concludes by saying the committee session continues.

Political & Social

Gorbachev's Responses at Student Forum Reported

LD1711011589 Moscow TASS in English 0049 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—Perestroyka is a substantial contribution to the progress of present civilization, President Mikhail Gorbachev stated, speaking on Wednesday at a national students' forum in Moscow.

Replying to questions of forum delegates, the Soviet leader stressed that while "reforming our society, tapping the potential of the socialist system, we have at the same time proposed to all nations the idea of building a new world order, we have proposed to advance, through radical changes in international relations towards a period of mankind's peaceful development.

"The previous stage, the 'cold war', fully disclosed the flimsiness of a policy relying on force, arms race and confrontation.

"Mankind found itself in a situation where the very survival of civilisation was called in question and other challenges, including from the environment, information, science and engineering, abounded."

Speaking about developments in the German Democratic Republic, Gorbachev pointed out that they fit in the process of renewal that is now sweeping the socialist countries.

"We welcome what is taking place in the GDR," he stated.

The Soviet leader noted that the existence of the two German states is a fact universally acknowledged by the world community, and one should proceed from this reality. "I do not think," he said, "that the question of reunification of these states is a question of topical politics."

Questioned about his attitude towards the pronouncements by Boris Yeltsin and others, including Western specialists, alleging that the Soviet Union will face an imminent national catastrophe in the next year or so, Gorbachev said that "we always felt the need to expedite economic reform, but there was no possibility for this earlier.

"Today we are nearing the adoption of major laws on property, on land, on taxation and the socialist enterprise. The start that has been taken is impressive and enables the formulation of a practical task to accelerate reform," he pointed out.

On the conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh, Mikhail Gorbachev said that in the search for its resolution, "It is necessary to proceed from the fact that the Armenian and Azerbaijanian peoples have lived for centuries, live now and will live side by side.

"People of any nationality in any part of our country must feel secure and confident in the present and the morrow," he stressed.

Explaining his attitude to private ownership of the means of production, Mikhail Gorabchev said, that concerning this question he shared the position of the communist manifesto.

Along with this, the Soviet leader said that the process of drafting the law resulted in a new, broader interpretation of the notion of individual ownership.

In this connection, vast new possibilities open up. "But I do not think," Gorbachev stressed, "that at the stage of preparing a law on property and ownership, we should put forth and lay down the advancement towards private property."

Questioned about his attitude to Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution on the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party in society, Gorabchev said that any constitutional provision may be subjected to a reassessment, transformation and editing, if the need arises, even to its deletion from the Constitution.

This holds true for Article 6, too. What Gorbachev rejected was one thing only—when verbiage about the article is used to mask attempts to disparage the authority of the party, to call it in question and, by so doing, deal a blow to perestroyka.

"We need the party," Gorbachev said, and added that he saw no other political force capable of both renewing the bodies of Soviet power, that were gaining strength, and consolidating society.

In closing, President Gorbachev said: "We are reforming society taking into account new realities, we are tapping the potential of our social system. We shall proceed along the way of our choice, remaining true to socialism."

Lithuanian Leaders Stand Firm at Politburo Meeting

LD1611175789 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Benas Rupeika report]

[Text] [Words indistinct] arrived in the Lithuanian Mission in Moscow from the Kremlin.

I had a very short conversation with Bronislovas Zaikauskas and Juras Pozela. They both send their best regards to Lithuania. Both of them said that they have all come back in good spirits. Only a short while ago Juras Pozela spoke at the Politburo in Moscow. I asked him if he has changed his standpoint. I received a firm answer: We have not changed our standpoints.

Well, now I am leaving the studio and I will try to contact secretary Vladimiras Beriozovas. I was told he has just gone to his room to collect his things. I hope I will be able to record all his thoughts and impressions which I will hear on the telephone. [passage indistinct]

'Defend Their Decision'

AU1711112689 Paris AFP in English 1100 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 17 (AFP)—Lithuanian Communist Party leaders defended their decision to form a breakaway party organisation despite an onslaught from members of the ruling Politburo at a stormy Moscow meeting, Lithuanian sources said Friday.

Journalists in the Lithuanian capital Vilnius, contacted by telephone, said that Lithuanian First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas would give details on Thursday's Politburo session in a radio interview later Friday.

A spokesman for the Lithuanian pro-reform movement Sajudis, Lionginas Vasiliauskas, said the Lithuanian communist leadership explained that unless a separate communist party was set up as planned next month "there could be a critical situation here" in the run-up to local elections set for February.

The party is under serious pressure from the pro-independence Sajudis which has mass support in the Baltic state annexed by Moscow in 1940.

The Kremlin summoned Mr. Brazauskas and other members of the local party leadership to the Politburo session to discuss the situation in the Baltic state and particularly the forthcoming Lithuanian party congress scheduled for December 19.

The congress is expected to approve the creation of a party organisation separate from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a move opposed by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

A Politburo communique read on Soviet television said that the participants at Thursday's meeting stressed "the special responsibility of the Lithuanian Communist Party as one of the detachments of the Soviet Communist Party".

The statement also commented that perestroyka, or restructuring, in Lithuania had brought into the open "anti-socialist and nationalist positions".

Brazauskas at Politburo Meeting

LD1611195989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrades, we have just received a report on the CPSU Central Committee Politburo meeting. At the last session of the Politburo, which took place on 16 November, Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, reported on the work of republican party organizations toward implementing the tasks of perestroyka. In the course of a broad and principled exchange of opinions, in which members and candidate members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau participated, the development of the situation in the republic was comprehensively reviewed. During this, it was noted that perestroyka, which has been developed by the CPSU, enjoys the understanding and the broad support of the communists and of all the working people of Lithuania. Today, The restructuring processes of renewal have practically encompassed political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of the life of society, and have raised in a new way the issue of the party's activity.

At the same time, attention was drawn to the fact that the restructuring processes are not taking place uniformly and in many cases they are even contradictory. This is linked both to the problems which have accumulated and the newness of the tasks that are being tackled, and with the increased activity of forces which hold negative and, in a number of cases, antisocialist and nationalistic positions. It was emphasized that in this nonstandard, unusual, and largely complex situation, party organizations often lag behind events and do not always arm in good time the party aktiv and work collectives with precise political bearings.

In the context of the problems which are being discussed, issues were touched upon connected with the preparation for and with the holding of the 20th republican communist party congress. The importance of that event for the implementation of socialist renewal and the special responsibiity which falls upon the Lithuanian Communist Party as one of the detachments of the CPSU were stressed by those participating in the session.

The CPSU Central Committee politburo expressed wishes to the Lithuanian Communists for the consolidation of party ranks and for success in the resolution of the political, social and economic tasks of perestroyka.

New Moldavian Secretary Luchinskiy Outlines Aims

PM1611192989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondents G. Ovcharenko and A. Pasechnik report: "Consolidation—the Slogan of the Times"]

[Text] 16 Nov—A plenum of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee held in Kishinev today discussed an organizational question. The plenum released S.K. Grossu from his duties as first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his transfer to other work. The plenum elected P.K. Luchinskiy, formerly second secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, as first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum proceedings were attended by V.S. Babichev and V.A. Mikhaylov, first deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee Departments.

It would be a lie to say that the decisions of the plenum came as a surprise to the Moldavian public. Recent articles in our and other central newspapers have noted more than once the serious omissions in the work of the republic party headquarters—passiveness, temporizing, absence of a clear-cut stance in the new, highly complex conditions. An analysis of the full range of the causes which have resulted in the complex and ambivalent situation in the republic still lies head, of course. This is, in part, what P.K. Luchinskiy told us when we asked him to answer a few questions as soon as the plenum ended.

[Correspondents] Petr Kirillovich, your transfer to Kishinev is, as far as we know, a return?

[Luchinskiy] Yes, I have come home. I was born here, in the village of Staryye Radulyany in Floreshtskiy Rayon. I graduated from the Kishinev State University History Department. Then I worked in the Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol], I was a secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and I headed the Kishinev party organization. For more than 7 years I worked as deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, and from 1985 I was second secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. What else can I tell you about myself? I graduated from the Higher Party School and have taken a candidate's degree in philosophy. I am 49 years old.

[Correspondents] What was your family's reaction to your transfer to Kishinev?

[Luchinskiy] My wife is a scientific staffer; she is with me permanently. Both my sons are grown up: It is up to them to decide where they want to live. I make no secret of the fact that I am pleased to be returning home.

[Correspondents] But, as you are aware, of course, not all is well here at the moment. Moldavia is no longer as hospitable as it once was.

[Luchinskiy] I resolutely disagree with that. The national features which have characterized my people from time immemorial—kindness, cordiality, industry—are not subject to the times and circumstances. These are our unfading values which support life itself. I can agree only that the situation in the republic is, in fact, rather tense. I have always, especially lately, closely followed the development of events here. That included reading PRAVDA articles. I understand the concern and even alarm they expressed. I recall that I was literally shaken by the story that communists were sitting in different corners when meeting, according to their national origins. You are quite right: What next?! After all, at no time in Moldavia's history has there been conflict on ethnic grounds.

Naturally it is difficult, not to say impossible, having literally just gotten off the aircraft, to assess the depth of the complex processes of perestroyka in progress in the republic. It is necessary to think and think again. To think together with all the republic's communists and the broad public. Dialogue, not confrontation; consolidation is the slogan of the times.

[Correspondents] Your motto is probably "measure seven times and cut once"? But we have the impression that so far all that has been done here is measure. And people are tired of it. What people want from the republic party headquarters is a concrete stance, and—even more important—concrete actions to stabilize the situation.

[Luchinskiy] My principle is—think, analyze, then act. And act above all in the direction of the swiftest possible consolidation of all the healthy forces among the Moldavian public which, I am confident, constitute the majority here. After all, all the inhabitants of the republic are first and foremost neighbors in a [illegible] house, and only secondly Moldavians or Russians, communists or non-party people. And we, our children, and grandchildren can live here only in accord, as our grandfathers and great-grandfathers have done for centuries. What I want to say is that we all have to proceed from the interests of the people and from common sense, a return to which I would describe as the main line of perestroyka.

[Correspondents] We congratulate you, Petr Kirillovich, on your election and wish you success in your very difficult job.

[Luchinskiy] Thank you. I take this to mean that you wish success to all the communists and working people of the republic, who need kind words and support so much today.

Confident of Consolidating Forces

LD1611195389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Interview with Petr Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, by unidentified correspondent, at plenary meeting of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee in Kishinev on 16 November; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] How confident are you that there will be a faster consolidation of forces in the republic? What needs to be done?

[Luchinskiy] First of all, I would like to say that I am no novice, of course, in respect of Moldavia and the Moldavian Communist Party. I was a member of its Central Committee for more than 12 years. Although in recent years I have been working outside the republic, I have nevertheless taken an interest in affairs and not lost my contacts.

As for my level of confidence, I am fully confident in this respect. One has the people, common sense, the idea of perestroyka and the people's desire to live better and to organize life itself better, moreover on good foundations—on the foundations of friendship, industriousness, and mutual understanding. It is another matter that this is not always achieved, and, however strange it might be, conflicts of this type have recently become more frequent. The country is aware of this. Everyone is worried and I am worried by this. I think that it is a matter here of work itself. Certainly it is matter above all for communists and the republics's Communist Party. Once we had stated that we were adopting the initiative of perestroyka, it was surely impossible to leave matters at just making this statement. Indeed, the people do not appreciate this. They appreciate only work in this area. Incidentally, the most interesting thing is that in their criticism of the party at the present time people are at the same time not only expressing the thought that the party has, as it were, exhausted its possibilities, but are also criticizing the fact that it is tackling these issues slowly.

Therefore, this is how I see the task. My confidence is manifested precisely in the fact that there are sufficient forces and healthy interested individuals in the party, among the people, and in the so-called informal organizations. These healthy forces that are interested in improving affairs need to be united to tackle these issues.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

Kovalev Cited on New Foreign Travel Bill

LD1611191489 Moscow TASS in English 1617 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—"The bill regulating Soviet citizens' rights to travel abroad and return home is the first legal act of its kind in the history of Soviet society. It has the purpose of establishing civilised relations among states and among citizens of different countries," Anatoliy Kovalev, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, told a press conference here today.

He recalled that on November 13th the Supreme Soviet approved in its first reading the bill's basic provisions and recommended its international affairs and legal committees to complete its elaboration jointly with the USSR Council of Ministers, taking into account the suggestions and corrections made during the deliberations.

"Adoption of this bill," the first deputy foreign minister stressed, "was dictated by life and by the internal requirements of Soviet society's development, by the need to overcome one of the elements estranging the individual from the state. Moreover, the bill has an important international aspect. It is a step towards bringing Soviet legislation into line with the country's international legal commitments and obligations assumed under the final document of the Vienna meeting."

Kovalev noted that the USSR was steadfastly adhering to the cause of humanising international relations, particularly within the framework of the all-European process.

The diplomat admitted that after the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act some "leading echelons in our country were extremely cautious towards the agreements on humanitarian and legal problems. The top Soviet political leadership was able to overcome only in recent years the unrealistic approach to international law and to our commitments assumed under it, to start humanising domestic and international affairs."

Deputy Minister on New Bill

LD1611190889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1326 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Nov (TASS)—From now on Soviet citizens will not need invitation documents for temporary visits abroad. This was said by Yuriy Kashlev, USSR first deputy foreign affairs minister, at a press conference here today. The press conference was devoted to a bill on the procedure for Soviet citizens leaving and entering the USSR which is at present being submitted for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Yuriy Kashlev said that the number of people wishing to go abroad is growing every year. In 1987 261,000 people left the USSR temporarily on private travel; by the end of this year their number will have reached about 2 million people. As for leaving the USSR for permanent residence abroad, in 1986, before the amendments to exit and entry regulations were introduced, Yuriy Kashlev continued, more than 7,000 people left for permanent residence abroad. In 1987, this number exceeded 30,000 and in 1988—108,000 people. Over 10 months of this year, more than 173,000 people have been granted permission to leave, and by the end of this year their number will have reached about 200,000 people.

Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the visa and registration directorate of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, reported that at the center of the discussion of the bill in the Supreme Soviet was among others, the issue of the state of the infrastructure which ensures Soviet citizens' right to travel abroad. In particular, the work of Aeroflot was discussed. The international affairs committee has instructed Aleksandr Volkov, minister of civil aviation, to submit his ideas to the Supreme Soviet regarding tackling the problem of air tickets. The deputies were also in favor of adopting a special decision, along with a law, which would oblige the USSR Council of Ministers to submit to the Supreme Soviet ideas for ways of implementing the law from the point of view of transport, finance, etc.

New Travel Rights Described

PM1611185589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister, by diplomatic correspondent M. Yusin: "New Regulations Governing Exit and Entry by USSR Citizens"—place and date not specified; first paragraph is IZVESTIYAintroduction]

[Text] The draft Law "On Regulations Governing Exit From the USSR and Entry to the USSR by USSR Citizens" has been submitted for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet. IZVESTIYA's diplomatic correspondent met A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and asked him to describe the basic provisions of the proposed draft law.

[Kovalev] The need for the draft law arose primarily from the demands of our society's development and the need to overcome one of the "zones of alienation" between people and the state. The appearance of this draft law could not even have been imagined a few years ago. It is the brainchild of perestroyka.

Furthermore, it became urgently necessary to bring Soviet legislation on exit and entry questions in line with our country's obligations stemming from UN documents, the Helsinki process, and the Vienna meeting in particular.

The draft was elaborated at the initiative of, and with the direct participation of, the country's political leadership. Speaking at the UN General Assembly session back in December 1988, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized the need to solve the problem of exit and entry in a humane spirit.

[Yusin] What attitude did the government and the Supreme Soviet adopt toward the draft law?

[Kovalev] The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium approved it a month ago. The draft law was discussed in detail and had its first reading in the Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, with participation by representatives of the Committee for Questions of Legislation and the Commission for Citizenship Questions. The draft was submitted for consideration by the Supreme Soviet's two chambers on 13 November, and its basic provisions were approved at first reading (with 368 deputies voting in favor, 5 against, and 10 abstaining).

[Yusin] What fundamental changes will be introduced to the regulations governing exit from the USSR?

[Kovalev] The adoption of this law (the first such act in the Soviet state's history) will create juridical guarantees ensuring a person's right to depart from any country, including his own, and to return home. A legislative vacuum which had existed for many decades will be filled. This will be especially important in view of the fact that the USSR Constitution does not contain any relevant provisions. This law is designed to replace secret instructions, instructions amending the instructions, provisions, and decrees which have been in force hitherto, and once it comes into force it will put an end to local and departmental regulations and at times even arbitrary decisions.

The draft envisages that virtually any citizen of the USSR will be able to acquire a passport for foreign travel, valid for 5 years, either for temporary visits abroad or for departure to take up permanent residence. The duration of the stay abroad will be stipulated by the traveler himself when submitting his application. It is proposed that travel abroad on private business, or associated with professional activities, shall be allowed for up to 3 years with the possibility of extension. There are no regulations as to the number of trips. An end will be put to the practice whereby travel abroad on private business was, to all intents and purposes, allowed only to those who had invitations from family members of friends resident abroad.

A Soviet citizen's travel abroad to take up permanent residence will be effected on the basis of a document confirming the permission to exit the country and travel to the relevant foreign state. The claim that this might be a reservation curbing freedom to exit the country is far removed from reality. Bear in mind that the Final Document of the Vienna meeting—on the insistence of the United States, Canada, and several other Western countries—enshrines a provision whose essence boils down to this: Travel abroad to take up permanent residence is allowed only to a country which is prepared to receive the citizens wishing to settle there. The United States, the FRG, and other states have recently taken a tougher line on the immigration problem. Consequently, the following situation might arise: Our citizens, after acquiring their exit documents, resigning their jobs, and selling their possessions, might spend months waiting for an entry visa—which will naturally present great difficulties for them.

[Yusin] You said that "virtually any" citizen of the USSR will be able to travel abroad. Does this mean that certain restrictions will still remain in force?

[Kovalev] Yes, they will. As a matter of fact, the International Pact on Civil and Human Rights provides for similar restrictions on travel abroad. They are also reflected in the Vienna Final Document. It is a question of restrictions which are necessary to safeguard state security, public order, and the population's health or morals.

These restrictions, which are of a temporary nature, are also enshrined in the draft law which has been prepared. They affect a small number of citizens and are associated mainly with the safeguarding of state secrets or with outstanding obligations (alimony payments, for example). In contrast with current practice, however, the new law provides that disputes involving alimony debts and arising as a result of travel to take up permanent residence abroad shall by judicially resolved.

The question of restrictions on travel abroad associated with knowledge of state secrets shall be decided on a fundamentally new basis. It is proposed to institute a procedure whereby a citizen, when embarking on work, study, or military service involving access to secret information, shall be notified of any restrictions on travel abroad which might be associated with his future work. Moreover—and this is a very important innovation—a clear-cut maximum time limit will be established as regards restrictions on travel abroad for reasons of secrecy. It must not exceed 5 years. It could be extended only in exceptional cases, and not by administrative organs but by the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Questions of Citizenship.

With a view to safeguarding the interests of citizens filing applications for the issue of passports for travel abroad, the result of the examination of such applications (and the relevant reasons, in the event of refusal) shall be provided in writing. This will end bureaucratic depersonalization when examining applications and will create the necessary conditions for citizens to exercise their right to appeal against negative decisions.

[Yusin] The draft covers exit from the USSR and also entry...

[Kovalev] The law opens the motherland's doors wide to Soviet citizens who are permanent residents abroad. There are several hundred thousand of them. In the recent past, they found it more difficult to travel to the Soviet Union than foreigners, because at times they were treated almost like "escapees." The adoption of the proposed law will wipe off the invisible brand of rejection from those who have left the country or plan to do so.

It is an open secret that, in the past decades, thousands of people were virtually deprived of an opportunity to travel abroad, to meet their relatives there, and to satisfy their personal or professional interests. There was an unofficial division of citizens into those who were allowed to travel abroad and those who were not.

Perestroyka has affected this area as well. The law abolishes the "penal company" comprising those who were not allowed to travel abroad, those who had failed to return, and other people often in tragic circumstances. The Soviet state is turning its face toward the millions of its compatriots abroad. Some former Soviet citizens have already returned home, others have resumed contacts with the Soviet Union.

A few days ago, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium admitted that a number of people were groundlessly deprived of Soviet citizenship in the seventies and eighties, and announced that it deems it expedient to continue the work on the restoration of their rights if these people wish to reclaim USSR citizenship and contribute to our spiritual, cultural, and economic life.

[Yusin] What expenses will be incurred in connection with the implementation of the entry and exit law? Will they not prove burdensome for the treasury, bearing in mind the present state of our balance of payments?

[Kovalev] Certain foreign currency expenditures will have to be incurred, and not just at an estimated tens of millions of rubles in convertible currency, but at a considerably greater amount. But the situation with currency exchange is not permanent and is directly dependent on the ruble's convertibility and the country's overall financial recovery. The law does not lay down the amounts which will have to be exchanged in foreign currency; these questions will have to be decided by the Council of Ministers.

Strictly speaking, there are no international norms making it mandatory for states to exchange the funds of citizens traveling abroad. Article 7 of the draft law actually reads: "There shall be no exchange in foreign currency of personal funds belonging to USSR citizens traveling abroad to take up permanent residence." This is a harsh necessity. But, proceeding from principles of humanity, the law provides for the payment of pensions to such persons in numerous cases, and for the reimbursement of medical expenses incurred by persons traveling abroad on private business either according to international treaties signed by the USSR or under regulations laid down by the Council of Ministers.

[Yusin] Anatoliy Gavrilovich, you cited the following data in your speech to the Supreme Soviet: Negative replies accounted for 0.4 percent of applications for foreign travel examined in the last 10 months. Who are the people behind these figures?

[Kovalev] During the 10 months we received 118,619 applications from citizens wishing to travel abroad and take up permanent residence there. Negative replies were received by 493 of them. The reason behind more than one-half of the refusals (251) was the provision of false personal information. The right to exit the country was refused to 206 citizens in the interests of state security.

[Yusin] Is it planned to expand cooperation with foreign countries to resolve problems arising in connection with exit and entry?

[Kovalev] Back toward the middle of this year, the Soviet Union came out with an initiative to convene a special conference of European states' representatives on consular matters, having in mind the elaboration of specific measures to humanize the entire area of consular relations. We proposed the utmost simplification of movement inside Europe and the adoption of a standard system of passports which could be processed by computers.

Speaking of international cooperation and international accords, I would like to mention something else. When the Helsinki Final Act was being elaborated and about to be signed (I actually happened to participate in the talks), the Soviet side declared its readiness to adopt this unique document in full. In actual fact, however—and I have to say this bluntly—our leaders at that time were extremely cautious about the accords on all humanitarian-legal problems. They pretended to joke, but were quite serious when they said: "Cut the bottom out of the third basket." Only in the last few years has the country's leadership managed to overcome the nihilistic approach to international law and human rights. As part of these rights, the freedom of exit and entry is a universal human value of our time.

[Yusin] One last question. When will the new law (provided it is ratified by the Supreme Soviet) come into force?

[Kovalev] Soon, I hope.

Further on Vorkuta Mining Situation

Pechora Miners Dispatch Coal

LD1611232189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Central Television has received a telegram from Vorkuta town strike committee, reporting that the miners of the Pechora coalfield have begun dispatching coal to the town of Cherepovets. The telegram makes a request to Central Television and the press that public opinion be informed more truthfully about the position of the miners and their demands.

Stoppages Declared Unlawful

LD1611201589 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Vorkuta (Komi Autonomous Republic) November 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov:

Four of the 13 mines in Vorkuta operated normally on Thursday. Complete or partial stoppages continued at the other collieries. But the miners are no longer as united in their actions as before. More calls are made to look for "sensible compromise solutions allowing to end the strike with dignity".

Damage done by the strike has reached immense proportions. Customers have not received more than 600,000 tonnes of coal since the beginning of November.

The consumers of Vorkuta coal have found themselves in an extreme situation threatening disastrous disruptions in many industries. Railwaymen are among the hardest hit. They have claimed a 1.5 million roubles compensation for damages to be paid by the miners. But the sum is not enough to make up for all damage.

The finanical situation of the striking miners themselves is worsening rapidly. According to data of the statistics department of the Vorkutaugol association, 18.5 million roubles worth of consumer goods have awaited buyers since the strike began in autumn.

Minister of the Coal Industry Mikhail Shchadov met the striking miners in Vorkuta to tell them there will be no plan revision this time and no payment for the days off work. The ministry has no money left for the purpose.

Moreover, the Supreme Court of the Komi Republic has declared stoppages at some of the Vorkuta collieries unlawful. The Supreme Court of the Russian Federation confirmed the ruling.

Effects Detailed

LD1611225889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports from Vorkuta. A multitude of calls, addresses, utterances of indignation, and requests which are rolling daily to the striking Vorkuta miners from various regions of the country have not yet made them call off the strike. Just as yesterday, today only four of the 13 Vorkuta mines are working normally. The collectives of the other mining enterprises of the transpolar town are continuing their strike fully or partially. But already there is disagreement among the strikers, as before. And increasingly loudly and more often, proposals can be heard among them that one should seek a sensible compromise solution so as to come out of the strike with dignity, as the miners put it, with one's head proudly up.

What is inspiring hope is the fact that the participants of the strike are beginning to listen to the voice of reason and to arguements against the current strike. The arguements of metallurgists, railway men, and others among miners' intermediaries, of the population, the evidence of houses and buildings housing social and cultural amenities which are heated by the Vorkuta coal are very serious and weighty. Incidentally, many people regard as just the demands of the coal industry employees. But they condemn those who are using insensible means to attain their fulfillment now through the extreme measure of a strike. The cost is too great. The present strike which has lasted many days is leading to a situation wherein the miners' socio-economic demands might lose all sense, as there will not be any resources to fulfil them. The damage caused by the Vorkuta miners strike has reached an enormous size. From the beginning of November, the debt of the Vorkutaugol association, for the delivery of coal to consumers has exceeded 600,000 tonnes. In addition, there are losses due to the strikes at the transpolar mines in the last 5 working days of October. All this has led to an extremely difficult situation among consumers of the Vorkuta coal. Without exaggeration, one could say that already today some of them are in a catastrophic situation. Alarming reports are coming in to Vorkuta. The Cherepovets and Novolipetsk metallurgical enterprises are on the verge of a halt. The Kovdor mining and concentration combine and other works and factories are on the verge of a halt. This is fraught with the disorganization of many sectors of the country's national economy. By the end of the month, the boiler houses of villages and settlements of southern areas in the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] will have had no coal to supply heat. There is practically no coal in the Komitopprom [Komi fuel industry] association store houses of the Syktyvkar directorate. Railwaymen are suffering very great losses. True, they have claimed about R1.5 million compensation for damages. But the sum is by no means sufficient to make up for all the damage caused by interruptions in the schedule of loading and sending trains with coal. At the Vorkuta railway stations, a great number of empty cars are still standing idle in their parking areas. Over the past 24 hours, 265 cars have been loaded with coal—this is more than during previous days. But for loading the fuel, about a thousand cars have been supplied. Most of them have remained empty.

The financial situation of the miners in the transpolar area is quickly deteriorating. According to the statistics of the republican directorate for statistics, since the start of the autumn strike the Vorkutaugol association has not realized the coal envisaged by the plan to the value of R18.5 million. Naturally, this has entailed millions of losses in profit and in contributions to various funds of the coal extraction enterprises. For example, losses to the wages fund of all the departments at the association caused by the strike have comprised over R8 million for October and 12 days of November. In addition, over R2 million have not been contributed to the funds for economic stimulation. At a meeting with the miners in Vorkuta, Shchadov, the USSR minister of the coal industry, stated firmly and unequivocally that this time the plan will not be amended to reduce it, and that the miners will not be paid for the days they were on strike. Anyway, there is nothing to pay with. The ministry has no money.

What is more, the strike at a number of other Vorkuta mines, as reported, has been declared illegal by the Komi ASSR Supreme Court. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Court has not changed this decision. What is interesting is on what resources the miners are intending to tackle their urgent socio-economic issues: for example, to build in Vorkuta housing and social cultural amenities. After all, even today they are not being put up to a great extent at the expense of centralized sources of finance, that is on the money earned by the enterprises themselves. This tendency is increasing. The government has allocated additional construction materials for miners. For example, the enterprises of the Pechora coal basin have already received, in excess of their limits, 2,000 tonnes of cement, 10,000 square meters of lenoleum, and other materials. Whereas the plan for commissioning housing and social and cultural amenities for this year is being threatened with disruption. In Vorkuta, only half of the annual task for commissioning housing has been fulfilled. The building here of a few kindergardens, a comprehensive entertainment and sports center, a house of culture in the village of Vorgasher, and other sites is being carried out behind schedule. There is a shortage of resources. In addition, the Cherepovets metallurgical combine has stopped deliveries to Vorkuta of metallurgical products, the output of which has fallen so sharply because of the absence of coal from the transpolar town.

Undisputably, one must work toward implementing USSR Council of Ministers decision No 608 adopted at the demand of the miners. But its implementation depends above all on the effective work of the miners themselves. The continuing strike is only tearing to pieces the economy of the coal industry and of the whole country. Do not get back to where you have started!

Aggrieved Miners Meet With Ryzhkov

Threaten Boycott

AU1711082089 Paris AFP in English 0630 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Anne Penketh report]

[Text] Moscow, Nov 17 (AFP)—Soviet miners from across the country were to hold critical negotiations with Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov here Friday to press their demands amid continuing strike action in Siberian coalfields.

But miners' spokesmen Thursday were in a tough mood and threatened to boycott the negotiations unless their entire delegation of more than 200 people was allowed to take part in the Kremlin talks.

More than 100 in the delegation are miners from independent strike committees set up during last July's national strike, but it also comprises trade union representatives and Communist Party officials.

Yuriy Boldyrev, a strike committee official from the Donbass coalfield at Donetsk, in the Ukraine, told AFP that "If they only let a few of us in, then everybody will leave".

He said that "practically all" of the mines across the country Thursday adopted an appeal to demand the fulfilment of government pledges concerning consumer goods, and economic and administrative improvements at the mines, made after the July strikes.

The message said that while Coal Industries Minister Mikhail Shchadov and other ministers claimed that the miners' demands were already satisfied, "The miners realise that their lives have not changed".

Mr. Boldyrev also criticised the unsympathetic treatment of the miners' strike in Vorkuta by Soviet media.

The miners in the Pechora basin of the Siberian far north have been on strike since November 1 to demand that the government makes good on its promises.

The 27,000 Vorkuta miners, who are also demanding an end to the Soviet Communist Party's monopoly on power, have vowed to continue their strike until at least Friday pending the outcome of the talks in Moscow.

The negotiations here have been scheduled to review progress concerning the implementation of the agreement reached after the first wave of industrial action.

Vorkuta strike committee president Ivan Guridov, in Moscow for Friday's meeting, said that "almost all" the miners in the region were still on strike Thursday.

The Vorkuta miners have failed in an attempt to overturn a ruling of the supreme court of the Komi Autonomous Republic which declared the strike illegal. The court decision came after the Soviet parliament last month voted to outlaw industrial action in essential sectors such as energy and transport.

The Supreme Court of the Russian Federation on Tuesday upheld the Komi court ruling.

The renewed strike action comes at a difficult time with stocks already low at the onset of winter as a result of the July strike.

TASS news agency said Thursday that the shortfall of Vorkuta coal deliveries since the beginning of the month exceeded 600,000 tonnes, and warned that other industries, notably the railways, were being seriously affected.

Tensions have also been running high in other mining regions, including Kemerovo, the centre of the Kuznetsk coal basin in southern Siberia where according to the government newspaper Izvestia normal production has not resumed since July.

Miners in Kemerovo met Wednesday to discuss their grievances and sent a telegram to Mr. Ryzhkov expressing concern over the slow implementation of the protocol signed in July.

Meets Coalminers' Representatives

LD1711092489 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov met representatives of the coalminers here today.

Ryzhkov initiated the meeting in order to discuss with the miners the implementation of the government resolution which is aimed at meeting the miners' demands.

The resolution was adopted last summer as a result of strikes in a number of coalmining regions in the Soviet Union.

Today's meeting is particularly topical in view of the fact that most pits of the Pechora Coal Basin resumed their strike on October 25: The coalminers at Arctic pits believe that the above mentioned agreement is not being implemented fully and quickly enough.

Mikhail Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry, visited recently Vorkuta (the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic). This, however, did not lead to the resumption of work at the coalmines.

Further on Meeting

LD1711141689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Our correspondent Vera Shchelkunova will open the bulletin. She has just returned from the Kremlin and will tell you, comrades, about Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's meeting with representatives of the country's mining basins.

[Shchelkunova] The miners' delegates have been in Moscow for a few days now. Yesterday [16 November] they had a meeting with their minister and today they met with the head of government. Today's meeting had to be transferred to the Supreme Soviet because many miners came and there were more people wanting to attend than the Council of Ministers hall could hold. The subject of the discussion was how Decision 608 was being fulfilled or, more accurately, what was not being fulfilled in the decision adopted to satisfy the miners' demands.

Speeches were made and are still being made by representatives of Donbass, Kuzbass, Karaganda, Vorkuta, Cheremkhovo. The meeting will evidently be a long one. The range of their complaints covers all aspects of life. In this sense the miners' dissatisfaction is a reflection of the dissatisfaction of the whole population, a reflection of the social tension throughout society. It is another matter that in all probability in this section of society of the working class, the problems have become particularly acute in connection with the particular, extreme conditions of life and work.

The demand heard most often at today's meeting was: You promised, so give it to us or else we will not work. The paradox is that it is clear to everyone, including the miners, that to give, it is necessary to take... but from whom? Of course, there was no mention of this.

It is not in vain that I spoke of the words uttered most often. Proposals were also made for ways to get out of the situation. A whole program was put forward, for example, by (Comrade Avalyan) from the Kuzbass. He formulated it this way: complete autonomy with the possibility of transferring over a period of 3 years to a market economy and setting up open economic zones. If the government cannot agree to this, said Avalyan, it should, itself, find the resources to satisfy all the demands of the miners. Of course, Avalyan is taking a vast risk. For autonomy for the coal miners without exactly the same conditions for inter-linked industries—and hardly anyone is ready for this at present, at any rate, could turn out—I am even afraid to say how it might turn out.

On the subject of the strikes, I do not know whether this is a way out. I simply report what the workers of the Vostsibugol [Eastern Siberian Coal] Association are doing. Understanding that a shortage of fuel in their Siberian conditions would affect them, too, they have drawn up their demands and proposals and sent them to the government with the condition that they should be examined in exactly the same way as the strikers' demands.

I will not undertake to draw conclusions or even to describe the nature of today's meeting, to say whether this is an ultimatum or a search for joint decisions, but I hope that it is the latter. I will cite the words of (Boris Andreyevich Grebenyuk), a miner from the Donbass. He said literally this: We understand and should recognize that at that time the government undertook manifestly overly ambitious plans. In the very acute economic situation it was forced to undertake these obligations. Now, said Grebenyuk, we must reexamine these undertakings and establish realistic time scales and find those really responsible for the various decisions.

The meeting is continuing. I think its importance goes beyond the framework of purely miners' affairs.

Signatures Sought for Referendum in Lithuania

LD1711024489 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] A representative for the Lithuanian Democratic Party, Saulius Peceliunas, said speaking on Lithuanian TV yesterday, that signatures are going to be collected for holding a referendum in Lithuania on the voting issue. Namely, the Democrats want the Lithuanian people to express their attitude towards the right of the Soviet soldiers temporarily stationed in Lithuania to take part in the elections to the Lithuanian Parliament.

At present less than a tenth of the soldiers who are doing their military service on the territory of Lithuania actually come from Lithuania, all the others come from various parts of the Soviet Union.

The Law on Referendum was adopted by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet early this month. According to this law a group of at least 10 persons with voting rights can take up an initiative for holding a referendum on this or that issue. Three hundred thousand signatures by citizens of Lithuania are required for a referendum to take place. It can also be held on the request of the bigger half of the Lithuanian MP's. Thus the Lithuanian Democratic Party has started a signature collecting campaign.

According to Saulius Peceliunas, who gave an interview to the Lithuanian Radio service this evening, the beginning of the signature collecting was quite good. This initiative of the Lithuanian Democratic Party was discussed at a meeting of the Seimas Council of the Lithuanian Reform Movement Sajudis and was met with approval.

Lithuanian Town Council Resigns Over Power Abuse

LD1711024889 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Lithuanian seaside resort Palanga has resigned because of the exposed abuse of its power. This is the second resignation of a town executive committee in Lithuania in the last 2 weeks. This time a video report was shown on the Lithuanian TV on the so-called management course with the high ranking municipality officials taking part. Instead of sitting in their offices during working hours they decided to spend the week in the most luxurious rest house of Palanga, enjoying a sauna, various herb teas, and caviar. The management course was headed by a pseudo-scientist from Leningrad. All this would have cost the town's budget not less than R180,000, only a tenth part of this sum is allocated in the cultural needs of the town.

The municipality building has been sealed for future investigation of all the activities of its members.

A similar investigation has been taking place in Alytus, a town in southern Lithuania. Members of its executive committee resigned at the beginning of November after a local newspaper carried an explosive article. It was revealed that a lot of violations were made while distributing land for the construction of individual houses.

Lithuanian Sajudis Discusses Military Service

LD1511110289 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The ninth session of the Sajudis Seimas took place in Vilnius yesterday. The deputies of this country's most influential opposition movement—and they are 220 in all—hold sessions on weekends, not on working days, and yesterday's meeting was not an exception either. [passage omitted]

One thing is evident. The Lithuanian supreme legislation, aware of the high degree of popularity enjoyed by Sajudis here in this country, carefully studies the documents and recommendations adopted at the Seimas session. [passage omitted]

It is expected here in Lithuania that most of the present-day members of the Sajudis Seimas might become deputies of the new Lithuanian parliament due to be elected next February. It was announced at the Seimas sitting yesterday that Sajudis was planning to nominate 100 people to deputies of the new Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, comprised of 141 deputies.

The electoral platform of Sajudis was not discussed yesterday. Discussed once again was the election law passed by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet more than a month ago. [passage omitted]

The main issue discussed at the Seimas session yesterday was the military service of Lithuania's young men in the Soviet Army. This issue is two-sided: one problem is how to help the young men suffering from the so-called nonstatutory relations and the other is how to protect those who refuse to serve in the army at all.

As Moscow would not hear about the national Soviet Army units proposed by the Baltic states, and as the situation is becoming increasingly more intense, the Sajudis Seimas spoke in favor of the parliamentary protection of Lithuanian young men serving in the Soviet Army. The resolution adopted by the Sajudis proposes that the articles of the criminal law ensuring the punishment of the men who refuse to do their military service should be cancelled. It was proposed that an opportunity should be provided for those who cannot or will not serve in the army due to their convictions to choose some alternative activities.

The political side of the issue is important too. Lithuania is seeking independence, and sooner or later it will have to consider the presence of a foreign army on its territory. Moreover, Lithuania should become a totally demilitarized zone and a neutral state in the future, said the deputies of the Sajudis Seimas.

Proposal of Russian as State Language Protested

LD1311133889 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] The institute of the Lithuanian Language and Literature at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and the Lithuanian language commission attached to the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences have protested outspokenly against the proposal to proclaim Russian the common state language of the Soviet Union.

Let me remind you here that this proposal is included into the platform of the Soviet Union's Communist Party on the nationalities policy.

The above institute and the Lithuanian language commission have published a letter to the Supreme Soviet Presidiums of the Soviet Union and Lithuania, emphasizing that the Lithuanian nation has already stated its interest and will to hold Lithuanian alone the official state language on Lithuania's territory. This is enforced by law and if Russian is legalized as the common state language of the Soviet Union this would be a gross violation of the equality principle of nations and languages and of the republics' rights.

This would mean that one sovereign Soviet socialist state, namely the Russian Federation, proclaims its language official in other sovereign Soviet socialist states, reads the above leter.

'Wave of Arson' Hits Farms in Estonian Rayon

PM1611215189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Leonid Levitskiy report from Tallin under the rubric: "Direct Line: Own Correspondents at the Teleprinter": "Ten Thousand for the Arsonist..."]

[Text] The council of collective and state farm [kolkhoz and sovkhoz] leaders in Yygevaskiy Rayon, Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], has put up a reward of R10,000 for assistance in capturing arsonists. Alas, they are obviously at work in the rayon. The first alarm signal came 20 September when a barn caught fire on the "Lustivere" kolkhoz. Some 351 tonnes of hay were destroyed. A few days later two storage facilities burned down one after the other on the "Saadyarve" kolkhoz. The smoke from the flames which had consumed around 1,000 tonnes of feed had not had time to disperse when the calf unit went up in flames. And so on and on... Republic Ministry of Interior specialists have proved that the fires are not accidental. Absurd as it may seem, a wave of arson has hit the rayon. During this fall some 20 storage facilities have been destroyed on Yygavaskiy and neighboring farms. Some 3.6 million tonnes of hay have perished and buildings have been destroyed. Only the selflessness of the fire-fighters and their voluntary helpers has saved many livestock units.

The best forces of the republic militia are trying to identify the arsonists. But judging by appearances, the criminal or criminals are well informed about the operational situation. When the guard at one of the storage facilities was removed for only a day, it immediately went up in flames. A painstaking investigation is under way, and there are suspects. However, the culprits have not yet been exposed. And it cannot be ruled out that an evil hand may strike again. A government commission headed by a deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers has been set up to coordinate the actions of the law enforcement organs and provide assistance to the afflicted farms...

Non-Estonians in Tallinn Protest Discrimination

AU1611164089 Paris AFP in English 1546 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 16 (AFP)—Between 10,000 and 12,000 non-Estonians demonstrated in Tallinn on Thursday to protest alleged discrimination by the ethnic Estonian majority in the Baltic state, Estonian Foreign Ministry official Valle Feldman said.

The Russian-led Interdvizheniye [Intermovement] Movement is opposed to moves limiting voting rights to long-term residents of Estonia, and has called for a boycott of forthcoming local elections.

Further on Intermovement Rally

LD1611213789 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Today in Tallin, representatives of the Intermovement organized a rally. Raul Malk will discuss what he saw and heard.

[Malk] Angles on things are as they are. One could also view the 20,000 people who had gathered today by 2 pm at the Linnahall in Tallinn from at least three angles. First, this is just the right number of people to express an attitude of Estonian society, calling for serious attention. Second, of Tallinn's quarter of a million non-Estonians, one-twelfth had come out, and that in spite of the columns which had set out from work places right in the middle of the working day. Third, today's rally was 2 or 2 ½ times smaller than a similar undertaking in March. One will definitely have to add here (?that half a year ago the demonstrators were more active) and also that a section of those present left before resolutions were adopted. [passage omitted on equality]

Numerous slogans today were appealing for protection and preservation of the Soviet federation. Yet, indeed, even the general secratary said at the September plenum that we have as yet not been able to live in a true federation. What is there to protect and preserve? [passage omitted]

The declaration on protection of the USSR Basic Law at the rally anounced that the participants will not fulfil Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] laws which are in conflict with it. Here one can observe at least the attitude towards the forthcoming adoption of the law on elections to the [Estonian SSR] Supreme Soviet. As it is, with the debates over residence qualifications for voters, there will quite definitely be a qualification for the candidates. In the future quite a difficult state of affairs awaits those wishing to implement this decision [not to comply with Estonian laws]: more and more issues are transferred or taken into Estonian jurisdiction. Consequently, they will need a [word indistinct] organ of their own, to make up their own laws; thus [there will be] dual power.

The resolution assures that the rally participants will boycott the forthcoming local [word indistinct] elections of 10 December. At the same time, an address was made to the enterprises work collectives with an appeal to start nominating [words indistinct] which would begin to implement national-territorial autonomy of the Russian-speaking population. There have been boycotts here before, too; let it be a matter for each individual. However, questions are raised of what, then, is the Russian-speaking population which will start to create its own autonomy; that is, will it start to deal with self-determination? Or is it as Yevgeniy Kogan [one of the activists] claims, the forgotten Soviet nation which will start to determine itself on its own in a section of Estonia? But what if the same takes place all over the union? How is one to reconcile this with the slogan about protection of the Soviet federation? What is more, a number of those at the rally today were out on 7 November under the slogan, "All power to the soviets." But now the main republican soviet is the Supreme Soviet which has also put together the election law. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording of unidentified woman in Russian] The rally participants state the following:

We repudiate the resolution adopted at the 13th Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session in respect of the historical and legal assessment of the events which took place in Estonia in 1940, as not corresponding to the historical truth. The adoption of this resolution in fact places the Soviet power in Estonia outside the law. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Malk] But the question remains: was it the question of historical truth or of our interests?

The rally went very far; so far that (?it would be difficult) to reverse. Hence also the cautiousness and the curbed mood of the people. This should perhaps cause concern to the organizers. But does it indeed?

Estonian Christian Democratic Union Viewed

90UN0243A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Illar Khallaste, chairman of the Estonian Christian Democratic Union, by V. Akimov: "The Power of the Soviets: Plans, Hopes, Reality"]

[Text] Continuing our publication of materials that give a certain idea of the diversity of political forces operating in the republic today and participating in the election campaign for electing local self-management organs, the editors reserve the right not to share the viewpoints of the people with whom they are speaking.

"Multinational Estonia is a fact which every politician must take into account," says the chairman of the Estonian Christian Democratic Union, Illar Khallaste.

[Khallaste] To live in some ideal world without taking reality into account is possible only for the dreamer and not for the political figure or the political party. The Estonian Christian Democratic Union, which was created on 17 December 1988 as a sociopolitical organization and is based on the principles of Christian democracy, recognizes precisely and clearly: A mononational society is impossible in today's Estonia. We condemn any kind of violence in political and social life. Because violence generates only violence. Like all such parties in the world, we base our activity on Christian ethics. The KhDS [Christian Democratic Union] includes not only Christians and believers but also people who do not belong to any particular faith who support Christian principles of social construction. Christianity is the soil of our European culture. For many decades we have tried to get rid of it and ultimately approached the extreme beyond which lies the abyss. To return to our roots and appeal to the experience accumulated by mankind over almost two millennia of Christianity—this is what the KhDS calls us to today. I believe that only the church is capable of making man himself better. And the Christian Democratic Union as a political organization sets as its goal to create in the society conditions which will help man to become better. If in a society there is a possibility for each person to express his thoughts freely and defend his principles without fear of repression, this person will not lie. If a person has the opportunity to purchase any commodity in a store with honestly earned money, he is not likely to steal. And there is one more moral principle from which we proceed—this is the restoration of the Estonian republic. In 1940 independence was stolen from the Estonian people—I have in mind not only Estonians but also everyone who was living here at the time. It is clearly impossible to restore the republic with all of its institutions. But to return the independence to the state that would legally be the heir to the Estonian republic would mean to put an end to the crime.

[Akimov] How large is your party and how do you yourself estimate its political power?

[Khallaste] We are a very small movement. And our political power is not very great right now. The KhDS joins together only about 300 members from various parts of Estonia. Party divisions have been created in Tallinn, Pylva, Vyru, Yarvamaa (Payde) and Virumaa (Rakvere). And in Pylvaskiy and Rakvereskiy rayons we exist only on paper—the Christian Democratic Union has been officially registered in the local ispolkoms [executive committees]. During the course of the election campaign the KhDS nominated 22 members for people's deputies of local self-management organs, including two in Tallinn, one of whom will vote in Lasnamyae, that is, a place where mainly Russian population live. Up to this point we have devoted practically no attention to this part of the residents of our republic. The time has come to look for allies among them.

The KhDS does not set the goal of increasing the number of its members merely to achieve impressive figures. We are quite well aware that today's elections, in spite of the assertions of the People's Front, are not really free nor are they really democratic. Under the conditions of the presence of an occupation army and the existence of a repressive apparatus, under conditions where the people are constantly in fear of interference in their affairs (first in one place and then in another there are warnings about the possible use of force), when only one party has access to the mass media—then free expression of the will of the people is impossible. And in about 5 years when the political situation in Estonia is different we will be able to better take advantage of the experience accumulated by similar parties in other countries.

The international contacts of the KhDS are becoming stronger and more stable before our very eyes. In the middle of October in Guatemala there was a congress of the Christian Democratic Interational at which our party was accepted as a member of this influential international organization. Two weeks ago we participated in a seminar conducted in Sweden on problems of the Baltic area and Poland. We have contacts with the Christian Democratic Union of the FRG. At the end of September in Tallinn there was an event which was overlooked by practically all the mass media—for the first time on our territory there was a conference of Christian democrats on the subject: "Christian Democratic Principles in Northern Europe." In addition to representatives from Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, representatives of Christian Democratic parties of Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, and Georgia participated in it.

[Akimov] What is your party's attitude toward the idea of socialism; do you think it has outlived its day?

[Khallaste] It is difficult for me to answer this question because we have not yet defined what socialism is. If by socialism we mean the society in which we have lived up to this point, it would be better to characterize it as a state monopoly on all spheres of social and economic life. This is an evil, immoral society. And the Estonian KhDS takes a negative view of this kind of socialism. But we also have objections to the kind of socialism which, as the social democrats in power state, has been constructed in Sweden. In our view it is too left-wing. The business initiative of the people in Sweden is restricted by excessively high taxes. Taxes should contribute to the development of free activity and not tie the people's hands. We are in favor of a society that hold more right-wing positions.

Christian democrats in Estonia are in favor of establishing private property. But the owner must use it with a sense of responsibility, that is for the good of the people and the society and not to their detriment, not for producing drugs or for making the mafia flourish, but for good causes. We are especially firm in our positions concerning ownership of the land.

[Akimov] How is your activity different from that of the Estonian National Independence Party?

[Khallaste] Like the PNNE [Estonian National Independence Party] we support the activity of citizen committees and participate in their work for registering citizens of the Estonian republic and those who would like to have citizenship in the future. We consider this work very important since, being oriented not toward a person's nationality but toward his civic affiliation, it contributes a great deal to the relaxation of tension in the society. But we also have essential differences. For the PNNE, as I understand it, Estonian independence is the final goal. For the KhDS this is only a condition for the achievement of the final goal, which is the creation of a humane society, at whose center stands the human being, the individual, and not the interests of the state. For many years we were taught: The collective and the society are the main thing and the human being is only a cog and can do nothing by himself—neither think nor breathe. Such a model of society cannot continue to exist.

The people will decide how the Estonian republic is to be in the future. And in the opinion of the KhDS it is wrong to proceed from the principle of national self-determination. The Estonian people already determined their future in 1918 when they wanted to live in an independent state. Now it is necessary to resume the natural development that was interrupted by Stalinism. In 1940 approximately 8 percent of the people in the republic were not Estonians. Now we think there are even more of them among the legitimate citizens of of Estonia—approximately 100,000. And we cannot take away from them the right to decide how they will live. We also think that those Ukrainians, Belorussians, Russians, and people of other nationalities who came here after the war and who consider Estonia their home must also have all the rights of deciding the republic's future after they have received citizenship.

[Akimov] How would you characterize the current political situation in Estonia?

[Khallaste] Unfortunately I do not have complete information which would enable me to give an exhaustive assessment. But it seems to me that it is very advantageous for some people to exaggerate the role and significance of Intermovement. In fact their place in the social life is not so great. I think that the Communist Party of Estonia deliberately underscores the significance of Intermovement in order to gain an opportunity to ask for the people's support in its fight against Stalinism and stagnation. The Communist Party is trying in all ways to keep the people thinking that it is the only force capable of bringing the republic out of the current crisis. And it uses devices that are not permissible in order to do this.

We have normal working contacts with the People's Front, especially at the level of the cities and rayons. But I consider the pre-election platform of the People's Front largely demagogic. I have already discussed their excessive idealization of the forthcoming elections. Questions of both referendum and the union agreement seem questionable to me. The same thing can be said about the law on citizenship. I think it is wrong to make all people who come here from other republics of the USSR become citizens of Estonia without clarifying that they can, for example, lose their citizenship in the RSFSR or the Ukraine. First of all it is necessary to explain what consequences this entails.

In general one gets the impression that the People's Front is getting further and further away from the people, that its leaders have now directed all of their forces toward obtaining state posts and for them the people are only a means to achieving this goal.

Ukraine Party Marks Unification Anniversary

LD1611065189 Moscow TASS in English 2234 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Kiev November 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Demidenko:

A meeting of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee [CC] and the Republican Parliament was held here today to mark an outstanding event in the Ukrainian people's history—the 50th anniversary of western Ukraine's unification with the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] within the Soviet Union. This historical act was accomplished at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's extraordinary session exactly 50 years ago—on November 15, 1939.

President of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Valentina Shevchenko stressed in her report that the Ukrainian people's dream—to live and work as a close-knit family—came true only as a result of the

October Revolution of 1917 and the formation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Western Ukraine's reunification with the Ukrainian SSR laid the beginning to the completion of reunification of all Ukrainian lands. The decisive step was made to consolidate the Ukrainian nation, prospects of socialist development opened for the working people of the reunited lands. Major socioeconomic changes took place in the area over the years of Soviet Government.

Since the very first days of the liberation the working people of the area felt generous, cordial assistance from their Ukrainian brothers, all Soviet peoples, it was said at the meeting.

Ukraine Forms Commission on Nationalities

90UN0216B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 20 Oct 89 p 1

[Resolution of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum: "On the Commission of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party on Matters of Interethnic Relations"]

[Text] 1. That the Commission of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party on Matters of Interethnic Relations be established, consisting of:

Yelizaveta Isayevna Anadymb, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, farm brigade leader for young cattle breeding at the "60 Rokiv Velikogo Zhovtnya" [60 Years of Great October] Kolkhoz, Novoselitskiy Rayon, Chernovitskaya Oblast;

Nikolay Vasilyevich Bagrov, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, first secretary of the Crimea Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party;

Valentina Adamovna Balashova, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Ukrainian SSR first deputy minister of culture;

Yuriy Georgiyevich Bakhtin, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet;

Ruslan Borisovich Bodelan, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, secretary of the Odessa Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party;

Petr Mikhaylovich Vanat, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, first secretary of the Zaporozhskiy Gorkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party;

Vladimir Fadeyevich Vilchinskiy, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, chairman of the "Druzhba" [Friendship] Kolkhoz, Khmelnitskiy Rayon, Vinnitskaya Oblast;

Svetlana Vasilyevna Voloshina, member of the Auditing Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party, first secretary of the Leninskiy Raykom of the Ukrainian Communist Party of Kiev;

Vitaliy Konstantinovich Vrublevskiy, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, inspector of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party;

Petr Ivanovich Golub, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, steel founder at the Mariupolskiy Metallurgical Combine "Azovstal" imeni S. Ordzhonikidze, Donetskaya Oblast;

Yuriy Nikiforovich Yelchenko, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, secretary of the Central Committee;

Vikentiy Aleksandrovich Zheludkovskiy, member of the Auditing Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party, general director of the Crimea Oblast industrial association "Krymstroymaterialy" [Crimea Construction Materials], Simferopol;

Andrey Timofeyevich Zonenko, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, editor of the republic newspaper PRAVDA UKRAINY;

Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kulikovich, member of the Auditing Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party, party committee secretary of the industrial association "Dnepropetrovskiy Kombaynovyy Zavod [Combine Harvester Plant] imeni K.E. Voroshilov," Dnepropetrovsk;

Ivan Fedorovich Kuras, deputy director of the Institute of Party History of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee;

Anatoliy Sergeyevich Matviyenko, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League];

Aleksandr Tikhonovich Melnikov, member of the Auditing Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party, ispolkom [soviet executive committee] chairman of the Khersonskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies;

Anatoliy Vsevolodovich Merkulov, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, manager of the foreign relations department of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party;

Nikolay Nikolayevich Nivalov, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, first secretary of the Chernovitskiy Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party;

Boris Ilyich Oleynik, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, deputy chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR

Supreme Soviet, board secretary of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Republic Section of the Soviet Culture Foundation;

Aleksey Semenovich Onishchenko, director of the interrepublic branch of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee;

Vasiliy Pavlovich Osnach, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, chairman of the presidium of the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries;

Vladimir Dmitriyevich Parkhomenko, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Ukrainian SSR minister of secondary and higher specialized education;

Yaroslav Stepanovich Podstrigach, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, chairman of the Western Science Center, director of the Institute of Applied Mechanics and Mathematics of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, Lvov;

Ivan Grigoryevich Postoronko, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, first secretary of the Ivano-Frankovskiy Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party;

Anna Stepanovna Roshko, member of the Auditing Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party, coiler at the "Selena" plant of the industrial association "Svet Oktyabrya" [Light of October], Mezhgorskiy Rayon, Zakarpatskaya Oblast;

Vitaliy Makarovich Rusanovskiy, academician-secretary of the Literature, Language, and Art Criticism Branch of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Linguistics Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, academician of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences;

Vladimir Ivanovich Stus, member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, commander of troops of the KGB Western Border District, Kiev;

Nikolay Aleksandrovich Shulga, deputy director of the ideological department of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

2. That Comrade Yu.N. Yelchenko be confirmed as chairman of this commission of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, relieving him of his duties as chairman of the ideological commission of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and removing him from that commission.

Ukrainian Trade Unions Reject Draft Plan

LD1311114589 Kiev in English to Europe 1900 GBMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Ukrainian SSR trade unions have rejected the draft plan of the economic and social development of the republic for 1990. The main shortcoming of the document, in the opinion of the trade unions, is that it pays little attention to social issues, the output of consumer goods in particular, modernization of villages, development of trade and communal services. The housing construction rates cannot satisfy the trade unions either. Much anxiety is caused by an easy approach to ecological problems. The trade unions of the Ukraine have passed their amendments and proposals to the government of the republic.

Politburo Discusses Chernobyl Aftermath

PM1611131589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[Report from 3 November CPSU Central Committee Politburo session prepared by PRAVDA team comprising D. Valovoy, N. Gogol, V. Gubarev, I. Mosin, M. Odinets, V. Orlov, V. Parfenov, and A. Pokrovskiy under the rubric "From a CPSU Central Committee Politburo Session": "Chernobyl—Our Pain and Concern"]

[Text] Over the 3.5 years since the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES] problems connected with that tragedy have been raised repeatedly in one form or another at CPSU Central Committee Politburo sessions. Several sessions have been devoted entirely to the elimination of the aftermath of the accident. M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, Ye.K. Ligachev, and many others who have participated in the discussion have themselves visited the region of the accident, the new settlements, and the city of Slavutich and met with the AES personnel and the inhabitants of the affected rayons. The mail reaching the CPSU Central Committee from the zones subjected to radioactive pollution in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] is constantly monitored by party and government leaders.

A memorandum from G.I. Revenko, first secretary of Kiev Oblast Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, to M.S. Gorbachev served as the grounds for this discussion at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session.

From G.I. Revenko's memorandum:

"The radiation situation over almost one-third of the territory of Kiev Oblast, where approximately 300,000 people live, including 59,000 children, remains*strained. Despite the tremendous cost, the decontamination work being carried out in the oblast has not yet brought about any real improvement. New pollution of the territory is coming to light. There has recently been a reduction in the scale of the work being carried out and an appreciable lessening of attention to the problems created by the accident on the part of union ministries and departments. Their activity has still not been coordinated at the Chernobyl AES itself, inside the zone, or outside it."

Addressing the session, G.I. Revenko said that the situation is being strongly influenced by an extremist movement of individual unqualified groups campaigning for the closure of the AES. In the past month the "greens" and representatives of Rukh have actively joined in destabilizing the situation. They are fueling rumors and using glasnost to fan passions. Thanks to their efforts, things are reaching the point of mass psychosis among the inhabitants of Polesskiy and Ivankovskiy Rayons, which are directly adjacent to the zone. People are demanding immediate resettlement. And it is becoming increasingly difficult for party and soviet organs to contain these sentiments, particularly among families with young children. Added to this is lack of faith in the data of the Health Ministry and the State Committee for Hydrometeorology. They are at variance with what was being said earlier. A special question is the shortage of medicines and the lack of the necessary amount of medical equipment. A mere one-tenth of foreign currency funds has gone into equipping the oblast's health care establishments. Account is not taken of the fact that those who have suffered have essentially been resettled in all Kiev Oblast rayons. For example, the hospitals and medical centers have just one imported fibrogastroscope and not a single endoscope, and just two rayons possess ultrasound equipment. Unfortunately, these problems have not been resolved in 3.5 years. The oblast is provided with 80-86 percent of the medicines it needs—which is lower than in the republic as a whole.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo session devoted great attention to the work of medics in the affected rayons. With due regard for the trends which have become apparent USSR and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Health Ministry establishments must carefully study the state of health of people in the affected rayons—particularly children—and provide the necessary quantities of medical equipment and medicines. It is also expedient to determine benefits for physicians and the procedure for their work under these conditions. It is necessary to clearly define the possibility of the population's living in Polesskiy Rayon and certain other places and not delay over work connected with resettlement. Serious concern is also aroused by the delayed construction of Slavutich and the relaxation of attention to it on the part of the Ministry of Power and Electrification.

V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission for Emergency Situations, delivered a report on the state of affairs in the rayons affected by the Chernobyl accident:

"We have to admit that attention to the Chernobyl problem was relaxed for several months. This was caused by several circumstances—the elections, the work of the Congress of People's Deputies, the change of government. This was felt not only at the center but also in the provinces. We went there and saw how the aftermath of the accident was being eliminated. The problem really had retreated into the shadows somewhat. But then work improved, and its coordination became more efficient. By order of the chairman of the Council of Ministers these questions have been passed on to the State Commission for Emergency Situations. The government commission has also resumed its activity. It was deemed expedient for the chairman of the State Commission for Emergency Situations to head it.

"With the participation of the population, from 26 July through 13 September, the government commission examined the state of affairs on the spot—in Belorussia's Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts, in the Ukraine's Kiev and Zhitomir Oblasts, and in the RSFSR's Bryansk Oblast—as well as criticisms, complaints, and suggestions. We managed to resolve a considerable number of questions—which was reflected in the USSR Council of Ministers and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] resolution adopted 20 October. The question of additional benefits for those involved in eliminating the accident is under consideration.

"A decisive step had to be taken during the first stage after the accident—116,000 people were moved from the danger zone. We see today that this was done correctly. But we are concerned now about the situation of those who are still living on contaminated territory.

"During our trip, therefore, we were interested not only in the technical aspect of the matter, not only in the organization of medical services, but also in people's mood, in their thoughts and comments. What became clear? Above all, the inadequate and contradictory nature of the information. Things reached the point where people in the same population center had different information on the level of radiation. Measurements even had to be repeated in some places. We have drawn up and published reference works for each republic with data on the level of 'contamination' in specific population centers. Maps have also been printed."

"Are these materials not locked away in someone's offices?" M.S. Gorbachev asked.

"No, the maps were published in republic and oblast newspapers, and the reference works have been distributed in sufficient numbers in the oblast. Everyone can also look at them in the local soviet.

"The progress of decontamination is another worrying circumstance. The trouble is not that it is ineffective. At first it produced positive results. During 1986-1987 the level of radiation was lowered several times over. But now that it is a question of small figures, it is important to carry out decontamination as a package with the provision of public services and amenities in population centers. It is understandable that, if asphalt or concrete is laid after a contaminated layer of earth has been removed, it will be possible to consolidate a low level of radiation. Without this it could rise again. Therefore we agreed to create public staffs locally for the coordination of work and to increase deliveries of essential equipment.

"Contamination of agricultural products is a serious problem. It frequently happens that people cannot use their own produce for food. This applies to milk in particular. Meat is less liable to contamination, and pollution of it is being reduced more actively. In Gomel Oblast today, for example, just 0.6 percent of the meat sold exceeds the temporarily permissible levels. The figure for milk stands at 6.4 percent. True, 2 years ago this figure was 3-4 times higher. But, unfortunately, we did not see an uninterrupted supply of uncontaminated products in all population centers. Local organs have been given corresponding assignments, and the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium has adopted a decision to reduce deliveries of products from these republics to the union fund, so as to be able to better supply the population with uncontaminated products.

"An improvement in the supply of individual instruments—dose meters—to the population is also connected with this question. It has been decided to produce 1,500 dose meters this year and 100,000 next year. This will make it possible to resolve the problem, and everyone will be able personally to check the level of radiation.

"During the trip we encountered the fact that radionuclides accumulate in ashes when firewood is used for heating. There is a real way out here—to lay on gas to population centers. This is provided for in the aforementioned government and trade union resolution."

"This is a good resolution reflecting many important problems, with specific assignments," M.S. Gorbachev remarked.

"Finally, one of the most important questions is the organization of medical services," V.Kh. Doguzhiyev continued. "Unfortunately, there have been quite a lot of imperfections here—either there is a shortage of personnel, or medics work tours of duty, taking a formal approach to examining the population. There have been many complaints about this. It has been decided that a program of measures must be drawn up to improve medical services and the population's health. This has been entrusted to the republics' Councils of Ministers and the USSR Ministry of Health. It is planned not only to construct hospitals and medical centers—this undoubtedly must be done—but also to organize branches of specialized scientific research institutes and to secure medical cadres.

"I would like to remind you that there is a lot of talk about the number of people who have fallen ill. Thus, so far cases of acute radiation sickness have been confirmed in 145 people. Of those who have had radiation sickness a disability group has been established in 59 cases, 16 people are not working, and the rest have been found jobs. No new deaths from acute radiation sickness have been established. The main demographic indicators in the monitored rayons are at the level of indicators for the country. But it is a worrying fact that illnesses such as dental caries, diseases of the respiratory and digestive organs and the nervous system, and iron-deficiency anemia in children are coming to light in the course of clinical examination."

USSR Health Minister Ye.I. Chazov provided explanations with regard to this question. The ministry has elaborated measures to reduce the effects of radiation. Proceeding from the Chelyabinsk experience, the concept of a maximum radiation dose throughout a person's life (35 rem) has been defined.

The organization of catering also worries medics. In the Ukraine, for example, people have started eating fewer berries and fruits. Catering for children of an early age is in a bad way. The sedentary way of life of schoolchildren is not always justified.

Nor must we overlook the fact that many inhabitants have suffered stress. Therefore it is very important, first, to provide reliable and accurate information on the true state of affairs and, second, to help as far as possible everyone who wants to leave these rayons.

V.F. Konovalov, USSR minister of nuclear power and industry, pointed out that a new stage has begun in eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident. The three functioning units at the AES have been provided with an improved safety system. A harmonious collective works at the station and does not perform tours of duty—the people live in Slavutich.

The state of the fuel inside the cover over the fourth unit (the "sarcophagus") has also been checked. The installation enjoys full nuclear safety and is under constant automatic control. At the same time specialists have begun planning a long-term burial (for at least 100 years) of the unit. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo members were familiarized with the initial drafts of these plans.

V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, said in his speech that it is necessary to have a clear picture of what the Chernobyl accident means—it is a disaster on a scale which will affect both the general moral climate and the country's economy for many years to come and which will demand substantial expenditure in the future too. In this connection it is necessary to draw up a statewide program to eliminate the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl AES. A draft of such a program from the republic's viewpoint has been submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers. It seems that three separate programs—Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian—do not quite represent a rational approach. There must be a unified statewide program, which would include questions of the further fate of the Chernobyl AES, the status of the so-called "zone," the destiny of the people living in contaminated rayons, and the state of agricultural production and other production processes. Such an all-union program backed up by the necessary funds would reassure the population.

"But you must work in the republic yourselves too," M.S. Gorbachev remarked. "And seriously tackle Chernobyl!"

"I agree, Mikhail Sergeyevich," V.A. Ivashko replied, "but we are encountering many things for the first time. You know, the mass media frequently maintained that there was no radiation sickness, just radiation phobia. But physicians have now reached the conclusion that radiation phobia is also a disease, only not radiation sickness but a disease of the nervous system, and it is necessary to take this into account and to approach these circumstances with the same medical yardstick as you would approach any other disease. It is necessary to amplify many aspects connected with the material security of people living in various rayons and to clearly determine which approach to which category of the population is needed on the state's part in this situation."

N.I. Ryzhkov pointed to two factors in his speech. It has recently become customary here, first, to criticize everything and, second, to blame the center for everything. The government commission and Comrade Doguzhiyev personally are doing a lot to tackle the problems of the Chernobyl accident and to coordinate actions, and the government is adopting decisions promptly and on the most important questions. Let us agree: Everyone is to decide his own thing. Many problems can be resolved by the republics themselves—and they must resolve them and not wait for instructions from Moscow. We must rid ourselves of freeloading.

M.S. Gorbachev inquired: How much is this problem costing the state now?

"If you take capital investments, the cost of resettling inhabitants, and the decommissioning of fixed capital, losses have already totaled more than R10 billion," N.I. Ryzhkov replied, "and, taking the resolution into account, the benefits and resettlement alone will also account for more than R300 million in 1990."

From the USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU resolution:

"Ministries and departments and trade union central committees jointly with enterprise, organization, establishment, and collective farm labor collectives are to allocate annually at least 5 percent of passes to subordinate sanatorium-resort establishments and rest homes for the summer period to children, parents with children, and pregnant women living in rayons subjected to radioactive pollution as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES before the completion of the construction of the said sanatoriums, preventive-treatment sanatoriums, rest homes, and other installations.

"The AUCCTU determines the procedure for distributing such passes.

"The USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations are to ensure the purchase in 1990 at the request of the USSR Health Ministry of additional medical equipment to bring up to strength the health care establishments located in rayons subjected to radioactive contamination to the value of R4 million in freely convertible currency, including equipment to the value of R1 million for medical establishments located in such rayons on RSFSR territory, R1 million for those on Ukrainian SSR territory, and R2 million for Belorussian SSR territory."

The stand taken by the USSR Academy of Sciences in resolving problems connected with the Chernobyl accident was criticized at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session. The Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences was instructed to hold a special session and clearly define the main directions for the development of power generation in the country.

M.S. Gorbachev summed up the discussion. He said that Chernobyl represents the people's common pain. From the first days of the accident the CPSU Central Committee devoted constant attention to the extraordinarily complex situation which had taken shape in the affected rayons. Everything was done to make people's life and health as safe as possible. However, we must be clearly aware that we cannot resolve the Chernobyl problem in a single year. It is an important fact that the first positive results have already been obtained, only we must not rest content with what has been achieved but move further. Complacency and indifference toward the people's destiny are inadmissible here—their cares and worries and a return to normal life must be at the center of the attention of both central and local organizations. The party and the government will continue to devote constant attention to problems associated with the total elimination of the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster.

Gumbaridze Elected Georgian Supreme Soviet Chairman

LD1711150989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The session of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia opened today.

In keeping with his personal request, the session relieved Cherkeziya of his duties of chairman of the Presidium of the Republic's Supreme Soviet. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia was unanimously elected to this post.

Deputies Meet at Moscow State University

NC1711133889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] The people's deputies from Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] met at Moscow State University in the presence of the representatives of the Moscow Armenian community, the academic body of Moscow State University, and students. They primarily discussed social and political developments in Armenia, the course of restoration work in the earthquake zone and the activities of the Armenian and NKAO deputies during the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The meeting was held in the Cultural Palace of the country's main university. USSR People's Deputies Arutyunyan, Khanzadyan, and Tatamyan, in response to the many questions raised by those present, spoke about legislative work that characterizes the second session of USSR Supreme Soviet. They also spoke about the new measures taken by the government to stabilize the country's economy and about the development, expansion, and deepening of democratic processes in public life.

The representatives of the Moscow Armenian community and many lecturers and students of Moscow State University expressed grave concern over the prevailing tense situation in the region in connection with the continuing blockade of Artsakh [NKAO]. They asked to be briefed about the the activities of the commission established by the USSR Supreme Soviet to study the NKAO problem.

There were also many Azerbaijani students in the hall, including members of the Azerbaijan Popular Front. They, too, asked questions of the Armenian and NKAO deputies and received detailed answers.

At the end of the meeting, the Armenian Chamber Choir gave a concert of Armenian songs. Works by Komitas, Yerkmalyan, and Medieval Armenian composers were performed.

Armenians Claim Meskhetians Settle in NKAO

NC1711110289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] The people's deputies from Stepanakert have sent an open letter to USSR Supreme Soviet and to the Special Administration Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The letter specifically states that lately the leadership of Azerbaijan, having failed to subjugate the national liberation struggle of the native Armenian population of Artsakh [NKAO], has chosen the course of Azerbaijanization of the oblast.

The aim of this comprehensive plan is to alter artificially the demographic balance in the NKAO in favor of the Azerbaijani population so that by gaining numerical supremacy they can deny the native Armenian population the right of national sovereignty on its own lands and thus put an end to the NKAO problem, the essence of which is the self-determination of the people of Artsakh.

The letter indicates that in order to alter the national composition of Artsakh, the leaders of Azerbaijan are also using the Meskhetian Turks who fled from Central Asia by letting them settle in the NKAO.

Armenian National Movement Congress Held

PM1611130789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Report by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev: "Emotions Are Calling the Tune; Notes from Armenian National Movement Constituent Congress"]

[Text] Yerevan-Moscow—**Early November this year in the Armenian capital is in many ways unusual. Outwardly there was no sense that the holiday was imminent—the city's inhabitants knew that the decision had been taken not to hold the traditional military parade and working people's demonstration. There was almost no sign of festive posters in the city. On the central square named for V.I. Lenin they appeared only 2 days before 7 November. On the other hand for a long time now nearby Theater Square has been full of the most motley placards and appeals and leaflets and, particularly in the evenings, seethes with the crowds and overflowing passions—meetings stretch on late into the night. The speakers—representatives of informal organizations—take their turn at the microphones. Here are just a few of the names of these organizations: "Constitutional right," "Association of National Self Management," "Union of Armenian Youth," "Armenian National Independence Party," "'Aykashen' People's Front," "Armenian National Army," "People's Construction Site..." Of the numerous slogans the most widespread are about Karabakh. The following were encountered: "Armenian soldiers should not serve in the occupation army," "Armenian soldiers, unite!"**

The most authoritative informal association with the largest membership is the Armenian National Movement [AOD]. Actually, it can hardly be called informal any longer—by a resolution of the republic's Supreme Soviet it has been officially recognized as a public organization.

What is the political credo of the AOD, whose forefather, and that must be borne in mind, was the not unknown "Karabakh" committee, now called the Armenian committee of the Karabakh movement? This credo, ideological principles, immediate aims, and tasks stem entirely from the draft program first made public here several months ago and recently printed in thousands of copies by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee publishing house printing plant. The first lines of the policy document state that the movement was born "with a view to reuniting the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] with Soviet Armenia—implementing the legitimate right of the Artsakh Armenians (their historical name—V.K.) to self determination." The solution of many national problems, the document's authors believe, is possible only "under conditions of independent statehood." It also sets out the AOD's immediate tasks, which include the conclusion of a new interstate treaty between the USSR and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] providing, apart from anything else, for the recognition of Armenia's full right to remain in or withdraw from the

USSR, the right to establish diplomatic relations with other countries, and so forth. What draws the attention is that several of the program's clauses are of a purely declarative nature and the listed tasks include many which are already being resolved on the scale of the entire state (independence of economic policy creation of a Constitution which expresses the people's real interests, development of the national language...)

The AOD's constituent congress was held 4 through 6 November in one of Yerevan's largest auditoriums—the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Political Enlightenment Center. Before it opened the first issue of the newspaper AYK—the organ of the AOD—which published the congress policy documents was printed in an issue of 100,000 and distributed through the "Soyuzpechat" kiosks. About 1,000 delegates elected at city and rayon AOD conferences took part in the work of the forum. They included over 400 guests—representatives of other informal organizations in Armenia and the union republics and envoys from various Armenian societies, the Armenian diaspora inside and outside the country, and Armenian political parties working abroad.

The main questions on the agenda were the discussion and adoption of the AOD program and statute and the election of its leading organs. But the heated debate, which sometimes went to extremes, took in many problems of importance to the nation. The most painful, mentioned in virtually every speech, was the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The discussion of the so-called Armenian question also caused an eruption of emotion. Its thrust is seen here in the need to recognize the genocide of Armenians in 1915 and the revision of the 1921 Moscow treaty between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Turkey as a result of which, the speakers asserted, the Armenian people lost a large part of their historical homeland.

A detail to add to the portrait of the congress. At the very start of the session the question arose as to why, despite the promise, there was no live television transmission from the congress. A representative of republican television issued an ultimatum: Unless the authorities give permission to broadcast, the television workers will go on strike. The next day there was continuous television broadcasting on the republic's first channel.

The participants in the congress raised many important problems with which the republic is living today: its economic independence, the speediest elimination of the consequences of the earthquake, the need to improve the ecological situation, the defense of human rights, perestroyka in education, the resurrection of national culture and language, and the provision of facilities for refugees. Talk about them continued not only during the plenary sittings but also at the sitting of the 12 sections. The discussion of the drafts of the AOD program and statute merged into keen polemics about the role and place of informal public structures in society, in perestroyka, and in the struggle for democratization. As one of the leaders of the Armenian Karabakh movement committee, Doctor of Philological Sciences L. Ter-Petrosyan said, while delivering a report on the AOD's contribution to the democratization of Soviet society, "the AOD has in a certain sense been in the vanguard of the Soviet Union's democratic movement." A considerable proportion of his speech was devoted to listing the AOD's services.

Actually, many people spoke of the movement's services. S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, who delivered a long speech at the congress, also assessed it positively. He noted that its participants are genuinely concerned for the destiny of the nation, the republic's spiritual and economic resurrection, the destiny of perestroyka, and that the AOD is making a big contribution to the activeness of democratic processes throughout the country.

But in the speeches delivered by Ter-Petrosyan and other speakers what drew the attention was not the abundance of eulogies addressed to their organization. What was perplexing was the assertion, repeatedly heard, that the Armenian people are alone in this world and should rely only on themselves, on their own forces. "Armenians, we are alone," Doctor of Philological Sciences R. Ishkhanyan, a member of the "Mashtots" association, said in an emotional quotation from the classic writer. "Our people's efforts should be based only on themselves. We lose our last refuge if we pin our hopes on anyone but God." These ideas are not a fortuitous, unexpected improvisation. They are the basis of the AOD's principles.

It was strange to hear this, to say the least. Were the humanism and aid to the Armenian people displayed by the Soviet republics and numerous foreign countries after the destructive earthquake not a manifestation of the friendship of the peoples and of true internationalism? There is nothing simpler than "playing" on people's most delicate feelings—their national feelings. This was obviously what primarily guided those who tried to "call the tune" at the congress. And now it is being heard throughout the republic: "The main aim of the Soviet empire is to bring the Armenians to their knees." "The policy of the center is to divide and rule and it condemns Armenia to vegetation." Attacks on socialism and the CPSU also pervaded the speeches of some other speakers. There was a blatantly inflammatory ring to the statement: "The Armenian people have been excluded from the political arena for 70 whole years. That is why we suggest denouncing all treaties concluded in their name during these years."

Many sharp and categorical rebukes were voiced at the congress against those party leaders and members of the republic's government who have preferred a politically easy life, passivity, and temporizing to active political struggle for perestroyka. And that is obviously fair. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary was obliged to admit that at the most crucial moment the republic's leadership lost the initiative. And nonetheless it is a case of specific people and their personal responsibility and not of the whole party and not of all Communists. How then to explain such a blatant desire on the part of some speakers to erode the role of the CPSU in perestroyka and to cast doubt on it? It is perestroyka, initiated by the party, which has made possible the awakening of the peoples' national self awareness. Indeed the birth of many public organizations is the result of the course toward democratization and glasnost proclaimed in the country. There was a sobering ring to the words of the well known Armenian poetess Maro Markaryan regarding the need to unite in a common cause with the government and the party leadership. "For some people, if you have found a common language with the leadership that means you are a traitor," she concluded.

A detail to add to the portrait of the congress. On the very first day of the forum's work an attempt was made to disrupt it and to split the movement. F. Safaryan, chairman of the informal "Armenian Independent Preparliament [predparlament]" Association, after attempts to draw the delegates into a discussion of the possibility of withdrawing from the USSR, demanded that members of his organization, which stands on most extreme positions, be allowed into the congress. Heated debates flared up. By a majority of votes the delegates rejected this demand. In response there followed accusations that "the AOD program is an attempt to consolidate the communist regime" and... an ostentatious departure from the auditorium. Actually, the next day the preparliament activists were nonetheless allowed into the congress. Ints Tsalitis, a member of the board of the Latvian People's Front sitting next to me, noted that they also have such "radicals" who, although they have no precise or real concept, try to impose their view on everyone and to split them. At the second Latvian People's Front Congress they in fact made an attempt to seize power in the movement.

The AOD forum also touched on military questions—enshrined as one of the movement's most immediate aims in its program is the demand for the restoration of Armenian national troop formations. Individual speeches voiced the idea that it is necessary to institute a defense ministry for the republic.

S. Sirunyan, a participant in the sit-down strike of draftees demanding that they be left on the republic's territory to do their service, was on the rostrum.

"Ladies and gentlemen," the draftee began. "What does the Soviet Army mean? Who will safeguard the security of the Armenians in the Army? Who will be answerable for the death of Armenians in the ranks of the Soviet Army who have become martyrs?"

After these rhetorical questions a whole barrel of filth was slung at the Army and then the young "defender" uttered the words of the oath:

"I swear that we will be soldiers of the Armenian National Movement and struggle until all the AOD's aims are implemented."

On hearing this I looked around and saw sarcastic smiles on the faces surrounding me. But the draftee nonetheless drew applause. But I was disappointed that there was no one among the delegates to explain to him what the Soviet Army is, the Soviet Army in whose history the sons of the Armenian people have also written many bright pages. And if history for him is a very complex subject, it is a pity that there was no one to remind him that it was the Army which was the first to come to the Armenian people's aid quite recently—in December last year.

And nonetheless the majority of speeches, although they were perhaps unfairly sharp and excessively emotional, were nonetheless to the point. For instance, the speech by school director A. Bleyan, who raised the problem of the crisis in education and the serious omissions in young people's upbringing. Or the passionate speech delivered by Kh. Stamboltsyan, a representative of the "Charity" society, who raised the question of aid to Nagorno-Karabakh and the need to restore transport communications with the NKAO as rapidly as possible. After his speech the delegates demanded that the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers come to the congress sitting and report on what the government is doing to resolve all these questions. A little over an hour later V. Markaryants was in the auditorium to describe in detail what has already been done and what is planned in the next few days. He read out a telegram which he had just received from the NKAO special administration committee addressed to the government and people of Armenia thanking them for their constant concern and assistance to the autonomous oblast and answered the questions of those taking part in the congress. Many of them concerned him personally. Answering them, the head of government sometimes felt extremely uncomfortable. Yes, he had something to say. But I could not stop feeling that this dialogue was late in coming.

Having approved the program and statute and adopted resolutions and formed elected organs, the congress completed its work. I asked one of its participants, the writer and USSR People's Deputy K. Simonyan, to impart his impressions. He unequivocally assessed the congress as an historic event not only in the life of the Armenian people but also for all peoples of the country and stressed that the AOD forum will help reach a new stage in the public movement's activity, a more organized and considered stage which will make it possible to avoid many errors.

I should very much like that to be the case. Nonetheless we shall not be hasty with our final assessments or draw rash conclusions—we have been wrong so often in making them. The whole complexity and drama of the moment lies in the fact that grain and weeds have become too intermingled in the AOD, the understandable and justified impatience of some people and the aggressive intolerance of others, the desire of the true champions of perestroyka to use the processes of democratization "to the utmost" and the desire of whose who are pushing society toward a split, are taking risky gambles in the political game, and sowing interethnic discord—these things have become interwoven.

One last detail to add to the portrait of the congress. When they registered, the delegates were issued a questionnaire. Before the end of the congress the results of the public opinion poll were made public from its rostrum. Here are some of them. Some 86 percent of those polled were men. The average age of the delegates was 43. Over 50 percent expressed themselves in favor of Armenia's secession from the USSR and 40 percent in favor of a sovereign republic within the USSR while only 2 percent were in favor of everything staying as it is. Some 70 percent of those polled believe that the perestroyka transformations in the country will be completed successfully.

Armenia's Arutyunyan Receives Diaspora Leaders

NC1511141389 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 13 Nov (ARMENPRES)—Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee (CPCC), met on 8 November with a Ramkavar-Liberal Party delegation headed by party chairmen Khrach Sedrakyan and Arshavir Geonchyan. Delegation members include: Aykashen Uzunyan, responsible official for the party's European regional organization and deputy president of the Armenian General Benevolent Union; Vartan Uzunyan, businessman and responsible official for party organization in Britain; and Akob Avedikyan, editor of ZARTONK newspaper.

Suren Arutyunyan briefed the delegation in detail about the restructuring taking place in the USSR at the initiative of the CPSU and about the democratization and renewal in the country and republic. He pointed out that the present meeting between the leaders of the Armenian Communist Party and Ramkavar-Liberal Party is yet another step toward implementing the course charted by the September 1988 plenum of the Armenian CPCC for deepening ties with diaspora Armenians and their political parties, movements, and public organizations. [passage omitted] Underlining the enormous importance of further developing these ties, the first secretary of the Armenian CPCC pointed out that attention should be focused on forming joint enterprises and expanding economic ties based on other types of constructive and beneficial cooperation. [passage omitted].

Kh. Sedrakyan and A. Geonchyan [words indistinct] indicated that they have always attempted to gather wide masses of diaspora Armenians around Soviet Armenia as they consider it the fatherland of all dispersed Armenians around the world. They added that they are continuing to exert efforts toward this as Armenia is living through difficult days and healing its wounds from the earthquake.

The Ramkavar-Liberal Party leaders expressed support for the course of renewal taking place in all spheres of republic life. They expressed their patriotic readiness to unite the economic potential of diaspora Armenians to assist Armenia. In this regard, a number of questions pertaining to the forms practical cooperation should take were raised and then commented upon in particular by V. Uzunyan.

Yerevan City Soviet Elects New Head

NC1511124289 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Yerevan, 14 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The Yerevan city soviet of people's deputies met and discussed organizational issues.

The session acceded to the wish of Eduard Avagyan to be relieved of his duties as chairman of the executive committee of the Yerevan city soviet.

The session elected Artashes Gegamyan as acting chairman of the executive committee. Gegamyan was working as the first secretary of the Yerevan Mashtotsskiy Rayon party committee.

New Armenian Paper Published in Moscow

LD1611133189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] The Armenian community in Moscow, which numbers at least 40,000 people, has received its own newspaper. The first issue of THE ARMENIAN HERALD has been brought out, which sees its task in bringing together Armenian Muscovites on the basis of humanistic and democratic ideas, by acquainting them with their native language and culture. Both Armenia itself and other areas, including Armenians living abroad, have shown interest in the new edition. The HERALD is being published in Armenian and Russian by the Moscow Armenian Cultural Society, which was established last April.

Armenian-Russian Periodical Published in Yerevan

NC1511143389 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Recently, 10,000 copies of the 1 November issue of the HAY LRABER [ARMENIAN COURIER] monthly, the 4-page Armenian-Russian language periodical of the the Moscow Armenian Cultural Society, appeared in Yerevan at the publications department of the Armenian Communist Party. The editorial in the first issue says that the Moscow Armenian community has a rich past from which we have been detached by the [words indistinct]. It adds that the basic mission of the paper is to gather the Armenians of Moscow around humanistic and patriotic ideas, instill in them a love of their mother language and Armenian history, closely acquaint them with the ancient Armenian culture, and keep them informed of the important developments in mother Armenia and in the Armenian communities in the Soviet Union and abroad.

Aram Simonyan, chairman of the council of the society, and Vahan Emin, chairman of the administration of the society, have given an interview to the paper on the current and future activities of the society. They have expressed their satisfaction that after a 70 year interruption, the Armenian-Russian language periodical in Moscow resumed publication. It is pointed out that HAY LRABER is the rebirth and continuation of ARMYANSKIY VESTNIK, which ceased publication in 1916. [passage omitted] The next issue of the paper will appear in eight pages and if conditions allow, it will appear twice a month.

New Armenian TV Transmitter Slated for NKAO

NC1411111489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] The illegal closure of the TV transmitter in Shushi deprived our compatriots in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO] of receiving Armenian television broadcasts. Therefore, a decision has been made to accelerate construction of a TV transmitter in the village of Yekhvart in Ghapanskiy Rayon. The Yekhvart televison transmitter was designed initially to transmit to the villages in the vicinity of the rayon's center. However, following the well known developments, the design was revised. The new transmitter will not only relay Armenian television programs to the villages in Ghapanskiy Rayon, but also to settlements in the NKAO.

Official Comments on NKAO Report

NC1711150889 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 16 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The presentation of the report by the Soviet of Nationalities commission on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] to the Supreme Soviet has once again been postponed. The presentation of the report was originally scheduled for late October and early November. In accordance with the agenda of the Supreme Soviet, it was posponed to 13 and then 14 November and now has once again been postponed.

On 13 November, after the holiday recess, the Supreme Soviet deputies resumed their deliberations. Noting that the NKAO problem was not on the agenda contrary to a promise made 2 weeks ago, they inquired if and when the conclusions of the commission will be made known to the session.

The deputies were assured that the hearing would take place during the present session.

When the agenda of the second congress of the USSR people's deputies was being discussed during the evening session of the same day, M. Gorbachev, who was chairing the meeting, announced that a proposal had been put forward to discuss the NKAO problem at the congress.

The Azerbaijan delegation argued that peace and tranquility prevails in the region and therefore said there was no need to include the NKAO problem on the agenda of the USSR people's deputies congress or even to discuss it at the session.

NKAO People's Deputy Balayan countered by saying that the inclusion of the NKAO problem on the agenda of the upcoming congress of people's deputies was justified by developments in the region. [passage omitted]

The people's deputies and some of the correspondents accredited to the USSR Supreme Soviet session believe that the postponment of the NKAO commission's report is related to the recent visit by Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission on nationalities policy and interethnic relations, to the NKAO. He has learned of new facts and time is needed to formulate his impressions and correct previous deductions and conclusions.

We asked G. Tarazevich when and at what level the NKAO problem will be debated:

[Tarazevich] I think that during this session, possibly in the next few days, the NKAO problem will be discussed.

[ARMENPRES] Will this take the form of the presentation of the report by the commission on the NKAO or a comprehensive examination of the problem?

[Tarazevich] I think it will be an examination. After my visit to the NKAO, our understanding of the situation has expanded substantially. The commission's stance is clear. However, it is still too early to talk about that. [passage omitted]

[ARMENPRES] Do you think dialogue between deputies from the NKAO and Azerbaijan could stabilize the situation?

[Tarazevich] Everything must be done to deepen the dialogue and search for ways to resolve the conflict. [passage omitted] I do not know to what extent one can now talk about the productivity of a dialogue on all levels, but I think that it is necessary to begin a serious political dialogue which must be based on mutual understanding and trust.

[ARMENPRES] On the basis of the most recent dialogue, do you feel that the sides are willing to settle the dispute speedily?

[Tarazevich] I would not say that the two sides initially displayed such willingness, but the good will was there. It seems to me that not all participants have identical views on the importance of this dialogue. I repeat that there was good will and we hope that those contacts will be beneficial.

[ARMENPRES] You said that during your visit to the NKAO, you familiarized the people there with the views of the commission and that this did not evoke any particular excitement among the people.

[Tarazevich] I do not think that anyone today could produce a plan that would be happily endorsed by both sides. However, such a plan must be created. This is where I see the need for dialogue between the NKAO and Azerbaijani deputies. [passage omitted]

AZERINFORM Interview With Kafarova

NC1711101889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 16 Nov 89

[AZERINFORM report]

[Text] Many of our citizens have appealed to the editorial offices of the newspapers, radio and television stations, and AZERINFORM asking to be enlightened on the proposal made during the USSR Supreme Soviet meeting in Moscow to have the information compiled by the committee on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] included on the agenda of the second congress of the USSR people's deputies. An AZERINFORM correspondent appealed to El'mira Kafarova, USSR people's deputy and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairwoman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, on the matter on 16 November. Kafarova said the following:

During one of the sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet's recent convocation, Deputy (?Igityan) advanced a proposal to have the NKAO problem debated by the second congress of the USSR people's deputies. A number of people's deputies, including Veli Mamedov, [name indistinct] Azizbayeva, and (?Safa) Ismailov, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, opposed the proposal and said that the effort made to unjustifiably exaggerate the matter was baseless. The proposal was rejected by a vote of 288 against the proposal and 67 for the proposal.

NKAO Deputy Critical of Commission Conclusions

NC1611155689 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 Nov 89

[From the review of the 10 Nov GRAKAN TERT]

[Text] Yerevan, 15 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The article "Again Impasse" deals with the interview of the correspondent of GRAKAN TERT with USSR People's Deputy Zori Balayan, who presents the draft conclusion compiled by the deputies commission set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet to study the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] problem.

He points out the draft's worthlessness and shortcomings, explains that it has nothing to do with the political solution to the problem, and that it can bring no substantial changes to the prevailing situation because it is incompatible with the demands of the Armenian inhabitants of Artsakh [NKAO] and with Lenin's principles of national self-determination.

Baku Gorkom Debates Party Organizations' Tasks

NC1311130589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 12 Nov 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Serious and detailed [word indistinct] and reconstruction procedures are being carried out in the republic and in Baku at the present time. The effect of these procedures on the social, political, and moral fields is gradually being strengthened. However, the reaction of extremist forces, which are opposed to reconstruction, is also being strengthened. They are using the problems in the economic and social fields and in interethnic relations to increase tension.

This state of affairs requires that under the existing circumstances the role and stands of the city communists be (?strengthened) and [words indistinct] be drawn up for their work and [word indistinct].

The newspapers report that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Baku City Party Committee [gorkom] held a plenum to examine the tasks of the party organizations in light of the decisions adopted by the September 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The plenum heard a report by Muslim Mamedov, first secretary of the Baku Gorkom, and speeches. The participants in the plenum called on all communists; workers; intellectuals; party, work, and war veterans; youths; and the representatives of all the [word indistinct] peoples to act with responsibility, political maturity, [words indistinct], and display moral and humanitarian (?behavior) during the present difficult time for the sake of the republic and its capital and for the future of the people.

Turkmen Party's Niyazov Discusses Ethnic Issues

PM1611153789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, by PRAVDA correspondent M. Volkov: "There Is No Need to Force an Open Door"; date and place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Saparmurad Atayevich, reality is reality, and it is, alas, impossible not to see that the CPSU Central Committee September plenum has been and gone but interethnic relations are still strained in a number of regions. What can you say on this score? Our conversation with S.A. Niyazov began with this question.

[Niyazov] It would be naive from a political viewpoint to expect the plenum to provide ready remedies for all life's eventualities. But we needed clear guidelines and scientific methodological approaches to the solution of nationalities questions and this is what we elaborated. This is also illustrated by the approbatory comments throughout the world and the real improvement in the situation in most republics. Everything will now be determined by how the party's political platform is practically implemented. On the one hand, we must not linger, on the other, haste in politics invariably threatens unpredictable consequences. We must work with people every day, firmly relying on the platform adopted by the Central Committee. There is no other path for us Communists.

[Volkov] Forgive me, but the reader is entitled to point out that it is easy to give advice when calm reigns in your republic. There are no "noisy" conflicts based on nationalities questions or peoples' fronts.... Among the Ashkhabad intelligentsia I heard that this is attributable to an insufficient increase in the population's consciousness and rates of democratization. What do you think of that?

[Niyazov] Well, I was waiting for this question. Criticism was voiced at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies of our alleged tranquillity and supposedly excessive patience. Some people were prone to oversimplified explanations—attributing this to a special kind of obedience fostered by the bureaucratic edict system—while some people regarded it as a lack of any stance at all! Moreover, it seemed that they wanted to seek the roots of this in our national character.... I have no doubt that this is all a pure misunderstanding based on the sorry fact of ignorance of one another. I am not urging everyone to become absorbed in our problems, just as I see no opportunity for fully understanding and correctly assessing problems in other republics, but I am telling everyone to be more tolerant and respectful and take originality and specific features into consideration.

You mentioned the favorable atmosphere in the republic. I think that not everything is as simple a it looks at first glance. Can you determine the level of national feeling by the lack of rallies, mass demonstrations, and strikes? Perestroyka—and in my view this is clearly its problem—has brought considerable stereotypes into our lives; for instance, many people only perceive political activeness in trenchant debates or even clashes. Why is constructive labor receding into the background or simply disappearing altogether? But the republic's workers do have something in which to take pride. Thus, a record cotton harvest has now been harvested. At the optimum time, moreover.

Turkmenistan has more than enough problems. Will we make progress in solving them if the people begin to attend rallies? I must point out to their credit and as a tribute to their courage that the people do not pour out onto the streets and the representatives of more than 100 nations and ethnic groups living in our territory still live as a single harmonious family. Adversities are objectively a factor which brings the people closer together, and I do not doubt that in those areas where the reverse occurs those people who do not like renewal and perestroyka have already been hard at work.

[Volkov] How then do you regard the events of May in Ashkhabad and Nebit-Dag, when attempts were made to impart nationalist overtones to displays of hooliganism among young people?

[Niyazov] I am not inclined to dramatize the hooligan attacks, especially since their actions are condemned by everyone without exception and above all by the Turkmens. This is quite natural on the whole: Our people are characterized by their benevolence and respect for their neighbors and guests. But we are not about to close our eyes to those events, although I want to make it clear that there were no casualties. Youths damaged and burned several cooperative trading points. Law and order bodies took resolute steps and stopped excesses. The damage is being paid for by the hooligans and their parents. But those people who particularly "distinguished themselves" have been given long sentences. That is, we showed the hotheads that no one is allowed to violate anyone's rights with impunity. We are very glad that this stance was supported by the CPSU Central Committee September Plenum.

[Volkov] Incidentally, in your speech at the plenum you advocated boosting cadres' responsibility for nationalities policy...

[Niyazov] Yes, but that is dictated by life itself. In the course of the present reports and elections in party organizations you can see how far exactingness from below is increasing in respect of leaders for the results of their work. Party members believe that resolute demarcation, including the expulsion from the CPSU of those people who have taken up nationalist positions or weakened unity by their passivity and unprincipledness, is needed to further rally our ranks and renew the activity of all party echelons. We will firmly implement Communists' demands irrespective of rank. Here is an example. When the circumstances behind the nighttime rampage in Nebit Dag became clear, it became known that shortly before the disturbances began, Ye. Akentyev, first secretary of the city party committee [gorkom], passed a crowd of young people in his personal car and failed to stop and talk with the guys... We persuaded gorkom members that a new leader of the city party organization should be elected.

I am sure that this is an instructive example. We now see our task as being to ensure that every Communist in the republic actively implements the ideas of internationalism and helps unite the nations and ethnic groups living here. This is extremely important, for no one can insure against any social flaw—and how they accumulated during the years of stagnation—giving rise to another problem tomorrow if he has failed to provide unexpected, including drastic, forms for dealing with the problem. We must be ready for this.

[Volkov] What priority areas have taken shape in this work?

[Niyazov] I would dwell on one point—the development of national consciousness and culture. You realize that a man who lovingly studies the legacy of his forebears will treat another people's heritage with equal respect. That is why, in our view, we should not forego national elements. Iolotanskiy Rayon Party Committee has accumulated good experience, for instance. Beluchi, immigrants from Afghanistan, comprise 14 percent of the rayon's population. So the party organization has elaborated a special comprehensive program for the social and cultural development of Beluchi settlements. The republic's Council of Ministers has given this program sufficient funds to build schools, hospitals, preschool establishments, highways, municipal and consumer facilities, and housing. The raykom has succeeded in securing noncompetitive admission for young representatives of the small people to higher and secondary educational establishments and—which was perhaps considerably more difficult—in sending girls to school with, so to speak, their parents' blessing. Beluchi language teaching—albeit optional as yet—has begun at local schools.

[Volkov] Obviously, the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee resolution on organizational and political work by party organizations in Mari Oblast was of considerable importance in boosting interethnic relations and solving social problems?

[Niyazov] The document was heard republic-wide and was received with approval by the republic's population. Television and radio programs are regularly broadcast in national languages. One rayon newspaper is published in Uzbek, another in Kazakh, and, incidentally, a literary association of budding Kazakh poets and prose writers operates with the latter.

[Volkov] Saparmurad Atayevich, I know that people associate the abrogation of what seem to me to be most stupid party penalties, which became quite widespread in previous years, with your election as first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee. I am referring to persecution for performing certain age-old national customs and rituals.

[Niyazov] Things reached the point of absurdity. A promising efficient worker was expelled from the party just because his elderly parents had his little son circumcised in the father's absence. No explanations were taken into account. People have been categorically forbidden to bury old people according to popular customs. The national spring holiday of Kurban-Bayram [as transliterated] was proclaimed a religious festival. Almost forcible attempts were made to replace the women's long dresses, which provide splendid protection against the harsh rays of the Karakum sun on the face. Some people comforted themselves with the thought that it would look a little better if some national characteristics were gotten rid of. Life showed the reverse.

[Volkov] It is well known that the republic adopted the course of bilingualism long before the September plenum and that you yourself are a consistent supporter of this course. Isn't that why Turkmenistan avoided the linguistic problems which arose in those republics where the national language was proclaimed the state language?

[Niyazov] I do not want to pass categorical judgment on processes in other regions, for their peoples themselves can see how to resolve linguistic problems and in what form. I am concerned by something else—the social copycat syndrome, so to speak, to which the representatives of many republics proved susceptible. It cannot be denied that national languages must be revived; a law to give the Turkmen language state language status will also be adopted in our republic; it has now been submitted to a session of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. But we always opposed haste and the violation of equality and respect for other peoples' languages on this basis. In my view, in this and many other cases it is necessary to ensure that the center—I am referring above all to supreme legislative organs—forestalls events and is not late in elaborating general principles. Then there would be fewer annoying mistakes in the localities.

We have prepared a state "Language" program, which provides for substantial measures to develop and broaden the sphere of use of the Turkmen language and at the same time improve the teaching and equal use of the Uzbek, Kazakh, Beluchi, Kurdish, and other languages used by peoples living in our republic. We took a number of practical steps in the course of our work on the program. Special courses have been opened for the non-Turkmen adult population. Leaders of ministries, in particular, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Consumer Services, and the Ministry of Communications, along with the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, have been instructed to provide people with services in the main languages operating within the republic—Turkmen and Russian. This year entrance examinations at all higher and secondary educational establishments were taken in two languages. Since 1 September there has been a switch to bilingual teaching of educational disciplines at higher educational establishments and technical colleges.

Let me repeat once again, there is no need to rush events. Certainly, this subtle delicate question cannot be resolved by means of soapbox democracy. Vast resources are needed to set things to rights—primers must be translated along with reference works and the classical authors, beginning with those who were active before our era. The funds have to be earned. So, let us be realists if we do not want to roll the republic back.

[Volkov] In the last few decades the republic has developed one-sidedly, as a raw material base. Suffice it to cite several well known facts—almost all the chemical raw materials we extract are exported, along with 90 percent of the cotton and wool, and 70 percent of our raw silk is processed outside the republic, which cannot, of course, improve Turkmenistan's financial position, and moreover the problems of finding employment for the able-bodied population in social production have worsened.

[Niyazov] We were the first to have such an acute sense of the direct link between the economy and the social sphere and politics and ideology. In multiethnic republics distortions and deficiencies in the development of the national economy are focused, as a rule, on interethnic relations. Social tension often does not find an outlet in those areas where its real causes reside but often falls on totally innocent people. Fergana and Novyy Uzen are recent examples, and they are not the first in history. Our events in May, which I have already mentioned to you, indicated how dangerous it is to forget or underestimate economic and social problems. The CPSU platform adopted by the September plenum provides for the broadening of republics' rights. The ideas of economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing are, I am convinced, making a great contribution to improving interethnic relations. Primarily between the center and the union and autonomous republics. Those people who are trying today to play on these problems, artificially creating tension, are forcing an open door.

The concept of khozraschet being elaborated within the republic takes into consideration the resolution of the questions we have raised. The current USSR Supreme Soviet session has ratified normatives stipulating that 20 percent of the income of enterprises and organizations under union jurisdiction located on our territory is to be paid into the republic's state budget, that is we will obtain 20 times more than before. In subsequent years it is planned to channel up to 40 percent of the cost of finished output produced using our raw materials into the republic's budget.

It is important to draw closer to Lenin's concept of nationalities policy, to restructure the Soviet federation and render it full-blooded. The task is to ensure that a totally healthy and constructive character is imparted to movements stemming from the heart of the people. We must make the national factor the motive force of perestroyka rather than an obstacle and a brake on renewal.

[Volkov] Last question. The fourth meeting with leaders of the neighboring republic recently took place in your republic in the border regions of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. This time I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, was your guest. PRAVDA talked this May about the productivity of these mutual visits. What did the new meeting produce?

[Niyazov] We value our friendly relations with our neighbors. A plan is being implemented for joint measures by the Azerbaijan and Turkmen Communist Party Central Committees to develop and strengthen international ties. Relations between the sister cities of Ashkhabad and Dushanbe are becoming more diverse and richer. Meetings with Uzbekistan's leaders have become a tradition. This time a group of Turkmens living in Uzbekistan asked for their rayon which was eliminated last year to be restored. I asked Islam Abduganiyevich to investigate, he responded keenly. It turned out that the Turkmen population predominates in this rayon and was mechanically merged with others. My interlocutor promised me that the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau would return to this question after the cotton harvest. We also discussed top-priority tasks of improving the environmental situation in the Aral zone and problems of using the waters of the Amu-Darya. We met many labor collectives and Islam Abduganiyevich talked with Uzbeks living in Turkmenistan and received information about them, so to speak, at first hand.

The elders, both Turkmen and Uzbek, greeted our delegation warmly everywhere. That is a good sign.

Tajikistan's Makhkamov Speaks on Priorities

90US0167A Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 22 Oct 89 pp 1-2

[Speech by K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, on Republic TV, 21 October 1989: "Constructive Practical Work is the Main Task Now"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

You know that this is not our first television meeting this year. The socio-economic and political situation in the republic prompted me to meet with you on television once again. During this meeting, I plan to highlight the main problems that trouble us today, problems on whose resolution we must concentrate all of our efforts.

The time we are going through is difficult and extremely crucial. This applies in general to the country, to the party, and to every republic, including ours.

The political and economic transformations that have been taking place during perestroyka have roused society and have created a number of problems that piled up over many years. There is an ongoing intense and difficult search for ways and means of resolving them and overcoming crisis manifestations.

We all know how this work is faring from observing the course of work of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and I will not dwell on all of its aspects.

I want to turn your attention to our especially critical problems, whose resolution the people are awaiting. As you know, this is housing, the provision of foodstuffs, an increase in the production of consumer goods, and employment of the population. There are also other sore points. They are written about and talked about in various meetings and discussions in which an immediate resolution of one or another problem is demanded.

But, comrades, we must realize clearly that the entire pile of accumulated problems cannot be resolved with one stroke. Time and means are needed, and material resources. But these are limited. We have to proceed from real capabilities and a clear definition of priorities.

What I have enumerated are the decisive and paramount directions that affect the interests literally of every inhabitant of the republic.

The results of 9 months look roughly like this. The volume of industrial production has increased. Especially in consumer goods whose output is almost R70 million more than that indicated in the plan. Including non-food commodities in the sum of R46 million. There has been a particular increase in the production of products of the light industry. Output is increasing in the production of a variety of articles for children and young people, textiles, hosiery, and clothing items.

The output of food products was R23.5 million above the plan. The output of whole milk products, vegetable oil, and fruit and vegetable canned goods was above that called for in the plan.

At the same time, and we all feel this, consumer demand, both in a quantitative and qualitative respect, is not being fully satisfied. The so-called shortage in many commodities continues.

The main reason for this is that the rates of population growth in our republic, and they are the highest in the country, exceed significantly the rates of increase in the production of individual types of consumer goods, the demand for which is not covered fully.

At the present time, the population is very troubled by a shortage of soap, synthetic detergents, and sugar. Rumors are being spread about an impending shortage of flour, vegetable oil, matches, and even salt.

What is the actual situation? In 8 months, the sale of laundry soap to the population was 510 tonnes more than for the corresponding period last year. The sale of toilet soap was 1.6 times greater than last year. And the sale of synthetic detergents increased by more than 1,000 tonnes.

The existing situation in many ways is attributable to the unsound stock-jobbing around this problem, which has led to the fact that a 2 and 3-month reserve of this production was established for a certain part of the population. It has to be assumed that some part of it goes outside the republic.

I can say with good reason, as a result of the measures that have been undertaken, including the introduction of new soap-boiling capabilities, that this problem will be removed completely in the first quarter of next year.

The fears regarding sugar, soap, vegetable oil, flour, salt, and matches are groundless. The season for processing the new harvest of sugar beets is now starting, and the period of home canning is ending. The fat and oil industry is already receiving the raw materials of the new harvest.

However, the situation with consumer goods continues to be difficult. Therefore, 3 days ago this question was a topic for discussion in the bureau of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. Additional measures have been outlined for a build-up in their production, expansion of their variety, and regulating their trade.

Now about housing. Today the housing question is really the most critical problem in our republic.

The other day I read with a heavy heart an open letter in the pages of the weekly ADABIYOT VA SANYAT from a group of teachers, young scientists, and postgraduate students of the V.I. Lenin TGU [Tajik State University] which talked about their unbearable housing and living conditions.

Judging by this publication, the teacher of the mechanical-mathematical faculty of this VUZ [higher educational institution], Rafoat Babayev, with a family of five persons, is living in a room with an area of 14 square meters. The conditions are no better for his colleagues.

Naturally, we instructed the city management to look into the sorry housing conditions indicated in the letter of the comrades and to take specific measures to the extent possible. Unfortunately, it should be noted that it is not only individual teachers and scientists who live in similar housing conditions. Many other categories of workers need improvement in their housing and living conditions.

This is why it is necessary for party and soviet organs, and corresponding ministries and departments, to concentrate on the question of housing construction and the timely operation of planned facilities.

As you know, we have adopted the "Housing-93" program, which is designed, by 1993, to provide housing for everyone on the waiting list since January 1988.

For this, it is envisioned that more than 150,000 apartments and dwelling-houses will be built. And more than half of this volume should be covered due to individual construction. A lot has been done to accomplish this. In 9 months of this year, almost 17,000 new apartments and individual homes were built, which made it possible to improve the living conditions of more than 82,000 residents of the republic.

The results in individual construction were especially tangible. I will cite some figures. While in 10 years—from 1975 to 1985—196 hectares of land were allocated to personal plots and housing construction in general in the republic, or 2,450 plots, then in 3 years and 9 months of the current 5-year plan, 5,800 hectares, or 72,000 plots, were allocated. This includes more than 2,200 hectares for 9 months of this year. Approximately 10,000 individual homes have been built.

Workers of the Dushanbe cement combine have built 114 such dwelling units. The construction of individual housing is expanding on the eastern edge of Dushanbe. About 4,000 houses and apartments will be built here.

Individual housing construction is developing successfully in the Kumsangirskiy, Proletarskiy, Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy , and other rayons.

The unprecedented scope of individual housing construction has raised a new critical problem—providing individual builders with construction materials. State enterprises of the building material industry, whose capacity is growing, have joined in this task. In a short time, a brick factory in Kulyab will begin to operate, and plants like this will be designed in Dushanbe, Proletarsk, Rokhaty, Shakhrian, and other populated areas. Small brick plants that many kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] have built and are building by themselves have been a great help. Measures are being undertaken to increase the delivery of building materials that are not produced in the republic.

Up to the present time, the situation with respect to the supply of roofing slate has been much improved. In the near future, this problem will be eliminated entirely.

But, in general, we are not moving fast enough in implementing the "Zhilye-93" [Housing-93] program. A lot of effort and means have to be directed at the elimination of the aftereffects of the earthquake in the Gisarskiy Rayon. The shortage of many materials, trimming workers, and modern equipment, in particular tower cranes, is seriously impeding work at construction sites, especially in Dushanbe.

But these are all reasons of a temporary nature. All measures are being taken to remove them. This will facilitate accelerating the rates of housing program implementation.

It is well known that the severity of the demographic situation in the republic is still not easing, especially in the labor employment plan. More than 200,000 persons are not finding an application for their talents; that is, they are not engaged in socially productive work. This gives rise to the notorious tension that breaks out into a conflict, which sometimes takes on an interethnic nuance. That is the way it was in the Isfarinskiy and Kolkhozabadskiy rayons.

The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and the government of the republic are doing everything possible in order to get out of this situation. To ensure worker employment, new enterprises are being built, and their branches and shops are being opened in rural areas; various kinds of production for the processing of agricultural products are being established in kolkhozes and sovkhozes; and local trades and home industries are being developed. Each populated center with a surplus of workers has a program for improving the utilization of labor resources.

There are definite results. Just during the years of the current 5-year plan, about an additional 170,000 persons have been drawn into the national economy.

But it is absolutely clear today that the measures being taken are inadequate. The program for ensuring employment for the population of the republic must be worked on more energetically, and new ways and opportunities for this must be sought. The problem that arises here is to utilize what is already available to us for these purposes in a better way. Because a paradoxical situation has developed. Although there is a manpower surplus, there is a shortfall of about 7,000 persons in construction. We even transport construction workers to the GBAO [Gorno-Badakhshanskaya Autonomous Oblast], where they work by the special effort method. There is a shortage of about 2,000 workers in the industrial enterprises in the light and local industry ministries.

This is our own unfinished work, which lies mostly in the training of personnel, the education of youth, and in providing career guidance.

And the situation looks entirely incomprehensible when branches and shops, established after persistent requests by local managers, remain idle, or do not work at full capacity. Obviously, miscalculations in their arrangements, organization, and work conditions are having an effect here.

It is not possible to avoid the situation in agriculture within the topic of today's television meeting.

We were all witnesses to the fact that the first half of the year turned out to be extremely unfavorable from the standpoint of weather conditions. Sharp drops in temperature, frosts, and heavy downpours destroyed many thousands of hectares of early vegetable crops and feed crops and led to a sharp decrease in garden yields. The livestock growing branch was in a difficult situation. Tangible losses were not avoided here either, which had an effect on the production and stocking of meat. Tremendous efforts were applied to correct the situation to the maximum possible extent. The national government gave us great and varied assistance.

Despite all of the difficulties, we were able in many ways, although not entirely, to correct the situation in the food system. The market had enough potatoes, tomatoes, gourds, onions, Bulgarian peppers, eggplant, and other vegetables. And the prices for some of them were even lower than previous years.

The population viewed the agricultural product fairs held in the cities of the republic with approval. Today, there is complete confidence that the workers will be fully supplied this winter with potatoes and other fruit and vegetable products of a winter variety.

This year's experience has shown once more that the main way to develop a food system in agriculture is the lease contract, and a transition to new economic relationships in all agricultural spheres. However, we have not converted enough of the managers who are moving in this direction unwillingly or who are even impeding the transition effort.

Party, soviet, and economic management organs at all levels must look into this and undertake measures to speed up the transition to new forms of economic management.

We can say today that a good crop of cotton has been grown, one that is sufficient to fulfill the plan and obligations. Now the task is to harvest the crop and not permit losses. We should not forget that cotton has been and remains the principal direction in the agricultural specialization of the republic and the main source of income for rural workers. Especially since, beginning this year, the purchase prices for raw cotton are raised somewhat. A new price increase lies ahead in the next year.

The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and the government of the republic are deeply grateful to the population of the capital, and to a number of cities and population centers for the response to the Appeal of the State Agricultural Industry of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Tajik council of trade unions which decided to devote as much as possible of their free time to the raw cotton harvest.

Comrades!

Perestroyka, glasnost, and the democratization of all spheres of socio-political life both in our country as well as in the republic are accompanied by a growth in national self-consciousness, increased interest in the history of the past of our people and national traditions and customs, and an interest in the study of our native language, history, culture, literature, and art, and in questions of economic and sociology.

In this connection, among various categories of the population, including the progressive part of our intelligentsia, there continue to be heated discussions about the role of the republic in the overall union division of labor and the outlook for its socio-economic and cultural development, especially under conditions when it shifts to self-government and self-financing.

We are viewing all of this, and there is no other way, as a positive result of the continuing process of perestroyka, and we think that this will promote the search for optimal ways of resolving the problems that have accumulated.

You know that with the active support and direct participation of our intelligentsia, we have already begun to resolve certain problems that trouble us. After lengthy discussions and thorough consideration, the Law on Language was adopted, and it will be introduced by stages starting 1 January 1990.

It is now important to ensure the fulfillment of planned measures without delay, at the same time not permitting haste and fuss, and with full respect for the legal rights of representatives of other nations and peoples living in the republic. The Central Committee and the government of the republic are already taking specific steps in this direction.

Along with this, I would like to hope that the newly created Tajik Language Fund, whose constituent congress was held several days ago and which is ardently supported by the broad strata of society, will play an important role in this important question.

Using this occasion, I cannot help but touch upon one more pressing problem, around which heated discussions have been going on recently. I have in mind the position of the Tajiks who are outside the borders of the republic, especially as a result of the national-territorial demarcation in Central Asia.

What can be said about this? In fact, no one can really doubt today that such a problem exists. We, and indeed the leadership of fraternal Uzbekistan, understand well that during the years of stagnation a lot of problems accumulated on this most important question.

It is also known that the measures undertaken in recent years to satisfy the language, cultural, and other aspirations of Tajiks who live on the territory of the Uzbek SSR have not yet removed the criticality of the problem. And it was not an accident that this question was raised twice this year—at the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies and at the recently held Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

It is natural that this question is also at the center of our attention, and, while continuing the contacts with the leadership of the neighboring republic, we continue to seek ways of resolving the problems that have piled up.

As is emphasized in the Platform of the CPSU Central Committee on the National Question, our joint efforts will be directed so that, wherever a person might live in our common home, respectful treatment will be guaranteed for representatives of all nations and peoples so that their legal rights are fully guaranteed—to learn, [sentence as published].

The main thing is the need to undertake all possible measures to find ways of resolving the problems that have piled up and to eliminate excessive zeal and haste in doing this, as was correctly noted in their speeches at a recently held meeting by Academician Shukurov Mukhammedzhan Shukurovich of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences, Poet Loik Sherali, and Doctor of Historical Sciences Masov Rakhim Masovich, who did not exacerbate the interethnic relations between the Tajik and Uzbek peoples, whose historical roots of friendship and fraternity are centuries-old.

I hope that our creative intelligentsia will make an important contribution to the resolution of existing problems. Quite a few cases are known where representatives of science and literature glorified and defended the ideas of friendship and fraternity and the international unity of nations.

Resolution of the indicated socio-economic and other problems require a certain amount of time and, of course, very intense work. Today, in the 15 months remaining before the republic shifts to self-financing, it is necessary to concentrate all efforts, means, and resources on the resolution of the housing and food problems, on an increase in the production of consumer goods, and on job employment of the population. The maximum possible effort must be applied in this so that the new 5-year plan will ensure strong acceleration in all of these directions and the creation of the necessary prerequisites in order that we are fully equipped to tackle the new problems, not forgetting, naturally, questions of ecology, health care, public education, and many, many other things. It seems that, in order to resolve these and other tasks, all of us must come to a quicker understanding of what is most important now—it is constructive and practical work. This must be made clear to all collectives, and to all workers.

It is especially important to achieve a consolidation of all healthy forces in society. Because it is no secret that a lot of things are said in meetings with various informal associations that are valuable, useful, and constructive. And to ignore these forms of display of social activity would be incorrect.

In short, it is necessary to be able to differentiate people who are seeking cheap popularity from those to whom the cause of perestroyka is truly dear. We understand that meetings and discussions are necessary and that they have brought a definite benefit. But today the center of gravity must be shifted to practical matters.

I will address one more question—the relationship with believers.

As you know, our attitude toward religion is based on the principle of freedom of conscience. At the same time, it should be realized that a significant part of the clergy, one way or another, promotes the affirmation of universal human moral standards, professing mercy, honesty, and humane treatment of people.

It is impossible not to see that an overwhelming part of believers, like all Soviet people, are vitally interested in the success of perestroyka. All of this should be taken into account when working with the masses, including when working among believers, regardless of the religion they espouse.

In conclusion.

We are on the threshold of elections to local soviets, and, afterwards, elections to people's deputies of the republic. They will differ fundamentally from what existed earlier. It will be a new and important step on the road to political reform, to a law-governed state, and to the strengthening of the genuine sovereignty of the people in the form of soviets. A great deal depends here on the political maturity and public activity of the citizens. Preparations for the elections have already begun. Our ideological establishments, mass media, and public organizations must join in the work immediately, contributing in every conceivable way to ensure that the soviets being formed anew become those organs that our society really needs.

I thank you for your attention.

Tajik Party Central Committee Meets 21 Oct

90US0173A Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 25 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Questions of the ideological situation in the republic and the party organizations' tasks pertaining to the preparation and holding of elections to the local soviets of people's deputies were studied at a meeting in the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee on 21 October. Secretaries in charge of ideology, heads of departments of a number of party obkoms [oblast committees], gorkoms [city committees], and raykoms [rayon committees], officials of the Central Committee and republic Supreme Soviet Presidium machinery, members of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Commission, and representatives of the news and propaganda media took part.

A report was delivered to the participants in the meeting by A.D. Dadabayev, secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. He observed that an election campaign has begun in the republic in connection with elections to the local soviets of people's deputies, which, as is known, have been set for 24 December this year. It is being conducted in an ambiguous socioeconomic and ideological atmosphere which is changing rapidly under the influence of restructuring processes.

Describing the present situation, the speaker went on to dwell on the results of the work of Tajikistan's economy in the 9 months. It was emphasized that despite the positive changes, tangible results in an increase in efficiency on the socioeconomic sphere had not been achieved. The financial situation remains under strain. Sociocultural facilities are being introduced only slowly, and the food problem remains complex. Performance and labor discipline has deteriorated in many areas. Questions of ecology and culture remain unsolved.

All this is most closely interwoven with nationality problems. Events have developed in an undesirable direction in Ashtskiy, Isfarinskiy, Kolkhozabadskiy, Ganchinskiy, and other rayons where the lack of resolution of purely economic questions owing to the tardy and incompetent intervention of the local party, soviet, and business authorities has taken on a nationalist coloration. The situation in these rayons is now being straightened out. It is essential that the party committees and party organizations learn the lessons from these events and learn how to promptly influence the situation locally.

Concerning relations with neighboring fraternal Uzbekistan, A.D. Dadabayev informed those assembled in detail about the measures of the leadership of the two republics aimed at satisfaction of the requirements of the national and cultural development of Tajiks, as, equally, of Uzbeks, regardless of their place of residence. However, the solution of problems should not be sought at a rush, in a burst of emotions. All contentious issues need to be examined gradually in a calm and relaxed dialogue within the framework of perestroyka and on a democratic basis. An exchange of delegations of the public of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan is planned for this purpose.

The Language Act will come into force in January 1990. Painstaking work will be required for its realization. In order to skillfully regulate questions of a change in the language situation, it is essential that party officials know this act to perfection, article by article, and explain it actively, not making the situation more complicated, but not oversimplifying it either. It is necessary simultaneously to convey to people the correct interpretation of the Law on the Addition to the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Criminal Code providing for measures of punishment for violation of the equality of the languages. As a whole, activity pertaining to the solution of problems of interethnic relations should be exercised in accordance with the CPSU platform on the party's nationality policy under current conditions. The upcoming Tajik Communist Party Central Committee plenum will formulate specific measures pertaining to this question. But today even the party committees and party organizations must initiate extensive explanatory work on the material of the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum. The independent public movement is spreading in the republic. Meetings of members and candidates of the Central Committee Bureau and leaders of the republic with the "Kontakt" group, which includes representatives of the scientific and artistic intelligentsia and the public, have become traditional. Problems of the ecology, young people, and the protection of mother and child have already been discussed. We must be able to enlist all healthy forces, associations and groups adhering to the standpoints of perestroyka in the solution of socioeconomic, political, and cultural problems. At the same time we need to conduct an uncompromising ideological struggle against the groups which are spreading ideas and views that are contrary to party positions. Religion is having a certain influence on the situation in the republic. Today the attitude toward religion and believers has changed. It proceeds from the principle of freedom of belief. Account also has to be taken of the fact that the vast majority of believers do not in their conscience and practical activity detach themselves from our entire people but live by their ideals and interests and participate actively in the republic's production and social life and the accomplishment of the tasks of perestroyka. Nor is the position of substantial numbers of the clergy in the affirmation of values common to all mankind: high morality, mercy, a humane attitude toward people and honesty in any doubt. It is essential to make active use of all this in daily ideological work. Relations with the clergy and believers need to be built on the basis of dialogue and cooperation in the accomplishment of many vitally important tasks. However, the rules of socialist society and the observance of current legislation must be determining in them. As far as philosophical questions are concerned, however, there is no, nor can there be any compromise between atheism and religion here. Communists and the party organizations cannot close their eyes to such harmful traditions and customs as bride money, the marriage of underage girls, and such. The speaker dwelt in detail on questions of the preparation for and holding of elections to the local soviets of people's deputies, having analyzed the results of the election campaign for people's deputies of the USSR and the work in this channel of the party committees. It was emphasized that it is important to draw the correct conclusions from the past election struggle, the more so in that the impending elections will be a landmark in the realization of measures connected with the creation of industrious soviets which will be able to really exercise their powers and operate in a new and enterprising manner. There are people capable of tackling such tasks in all strata—among workers, among the peasants, and among the intelligentsia. It was a question also of ensuring that the interests of women, the youth, and veterans be reflected in the soviets. National representation in the local organs of authority must be a subject of attention also. Attention was called to the fact that it is necessary to perform all work in the preparation for the elections publicly and openly and at the same time actively counter attempts, from whomsoever they emanate, to "pick up votes" on the basis of demagogic statements and empty promises. It is important that specific platforms geared to the solution of problems locally be drawn up in the course of the election struggle. The important role of the media, which are called on to cover the campaign comprehensively and objectively, was emphasized. It was stressed that the work of the republic party organizations in the course of the election campaign should be determined by the Leninist principles of the party's close ties to the masses, consideration of people's mood and aspirations, and a correct assessment of life's realities. The following participated in the exchange of opinions: R.K. Alimov, second secretary of the Dushanbe Gorkom; S.N. Abdullayeva, secretary of the Yavanskiy Raykom; V. Zayniddinov, head of the Leninabad Obkom Ideology Department; M.S. Asimov, member of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Commission and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Kh.R. Rabiyev, representative of the USSR Council of Ministers Council for Religious Affairs for the Tajik SSR; I.F. Dedov, deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Ye.A. Bazhenov, deputy head of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Organizational-Party and Cadre Work Department. They described their experience of political work under the conditions of perestroyka with regard for the activity of the party committees in the period of the recent elections of people's deputies of the USSR. Recommendations pertaining to agitation and propaganda in the present election campaign were expressed.

Uzbek Minister on Restoring Order in Tashkent

90US0154B Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 2 Nov 89 p 2

[Report on interview with V. Kamalov, minister of internal affairs of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent in Tashkent, Vil. Niyazmatov: "'We Guarantee Safety'"; date not given]

[Text] Tashkent—It has been more than a year now that disruptions bringing disquiet to the life and mood of the inhabitants began to burst into the customary work rhythm of the Uzbek capital. The point is that every Saturday and Sunday, as a rule, groups of young people congregating toward the city center, V.I. Lenin Square, would from the early morning begin to "throw their weight around" on the streets of Tashkent. I repeatedly observed their literally unbridled behavior at, for example, unsanctioned meetings which were held by an association, not officially registered, named "Birlik," which, translated from the Uzbek, means "Unity".

Here is not the place and now is not the time to analyze the "Birlik" program—this is the subject of a separate, thorough discussion. We would note merely that there is much therein which is causing the inhabitants of the Uzbek capital and other cities of our country profound concern. People are rightly insisting that the negative phenomena connected with the actions of the informal associations cannot be glossed over in the press. They have, after all, at times assumed an openly hooligan, antisocial nature, of which, incidentally, both all kinds of extremists and manifestly criminal elements are skillfully availing themselves. It is sufficient to recall, for example, the savage stunt which occurred little more than a month ago. In a Tashkent Metro car a group of unbridled thugs literally perpetrated outrages upon a defenseless young girl of Russian nationality. There is no need to describe, I believe, the Tashkent people's unbounded anger.

To the credit of Uzbek police officers, those guilty of the abuse were quickly found and a criminal investigation is now underway in respect of them.

It was with this that I began the interview with V. Kamalov, minister of internal affairs of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

"Unfortunately I am forced to state that this criminal act is not the only one that has been chalked up against hostile extremist elements," Vyacheslav Mukhtarovich said. "And the anxiety of those who, addressing SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], are demanding that their safety and normal tranquil life be assured is perfectly justified.

"So tense a situation did not come about in just 1 day. The forces sowing instability and national discord and speculating on the difficulties in the solution of socioeconomic and other problems have, it has to be said, become markedly more active this year. We have recorded numerous instances of mob gatherings of extremist persons in public places, and they have been proclaiming various slogans, including even those such as a demand for the eviction from the republic of people of nonindigenous nationality. Leaflets containing threats were pinned up also. People have been kicked off public transport and beaten up on account of nationality. Mass fistfights in Tashkent hostels have been incited repeatedly on the same national grounds, and what is more, from several hundred to a thousand and more persons have taken part in them."

[Question] What is the portrait of those who have staged unlawful actions with impunity?

[Answer] The ideological inspiration behind and the instigators of the national stunts have frequently been, it has to be said, emissaries of the informal organizations from other parts of the country endeavoring to consolidate their positions, even at Uzbekistan's expense. In saying this I do not in the least, of course, wish to whitewash our own "home-grown" extremists. Pursuing their selfish ends, they have constantly spurred tension and have been attempting to embroil on national grounds different groups of the population and incite mass unrest. The tune here has been called, as a rule, by groups of persons with criminal records. Disregard for the demands of the law and public insults against representatives of the authorities and party and soviet bodies have become traditional for individual leaders of the "Birlik" informal association constantly sowing discord. Thus recently, in violation of the edict on the procedure for holding meetings, marches, and demonstrations, Birlik people tore down the protective chain in V.I. Lenin Square and staged a rowdy mob gathering there. The aggressiveness of many of the participants in such meetings oversteps the bounds, as they say.

In confirmation of what I have said I shall permit myself to return to the events which occurred on 18-19 October in Tashkent, when in many public places activists of the "Birlik" informal movement posted calls for people to come to the square on 19 October at 1700 hours for a meeting. The actions of the "Birlik" leaders were of a manifestly provocative nature. The meeting to which the informals were summoning people had not been sanctioned by the local authorities, and its organizers were demonstratively in breach of the well-known USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium edict of 28 July 1988 "on procedure for the organization and holding of gatherings, mass meetings, street marches, and demonstrations in the USSR".

Despite the appeals of the party, soviet, and law enforcement authorities, a large crowd of informals continued to violate public order. Employees of the internal affairs authorities were forced to arrest the most aggressive initiators and organizers of this illegal gathering. More than 1[illegible] persons, the majority of whom were fined various amounts and strictly cautioned, were taken to the police stations. I shall mention some of the names: R. Ganiyev, student at Tashkent University; Sh. Dzhurayev, lecturer in the Medical Institute Philosophy Department; Z. Umurzakov, mechanic at the Aviation Association; S. Abdurakhmanova, student at the Textile Institute, and others. Criminal proceedings were instituted in respect of R. Iskanderov, student of the Law Faculty, and M. Inoyatov, lecturer at the Tashkent Culture Institute. The people's court sentenced A. Khudoynazarov, student of the Polytechnical Institute, to 10 days' imprisonment; S. Obidov, student of the Highways Institute, to 7 days' imprisonment; and A. Akhramenko, resident of Yangiyul, to 5 days' imprisonment.

This list could be continued, but this is not the heart of the matter. The main thing is that the decisive actions of the police officers, given the strictest compliance with socialist legality, could not have failed to have been reflected as a whole in the moral and psychological climate not only in Tashkent but throughout the republic.

The most decisive measure making it possible to ease the tension was the decree "on measures to stabilize the social and political situation in the republic," which was adopted recently at the last Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet session.

[Question] Please comment on this document.

[Answer] Clause one of this decree contains the demand that all internal affairs, procuracy, and justice authorities and other law enforcement bodies apply the stipulated coercive measures opportunely and fully in accordance with the law to persons committing crimes and disturbing public order and emphatically put a stop to manifestations of extremism and all actions aimed at exciting and kindling national enmity and discord. And that each instance of inaction and nonapplication of the measures stipulated by the law to guilty parties be seen as a most flagrant violation of one's official duty incompatible with continued work in the law enforcement system.

When putting a stop to the actions of criminal elements and persons flagrantly disturbing order, disorganizing the operation of transport, and infringing the honor, dignity, and bodily inviolability of the citizens and officials, the police are accorded the right to employ at their discretion means of active defense: rubber nightsticks, handcuffs, and special methods of putting a stop to antisocial behavior. These means may be employed in the event an official of the internal affairs authorities has warned an offender about the impermissibility of a violation of the laws, and the latter displays malicious disobedience or resists the police officer's legitimate actions. In the event of an attack on a police officer, such means are employed without warning.

[Question] How promptly has this decree begun to "work"!

[Answer] Literally the second day following the Supreme Soviet session the situation in the Uzbek capital began to normalize. Wide-ranging discussion of this decree was organized at enterprises and in educational institutions. It should be noted that the community of the republic perceived with satisfaction the unanimous decision of the deputies who adopted this very important document.

We will bring due stable order to bear in the Uzbek capital; there will be order throughout the republic. Inhabitants of Tashkent and the entire republic may henceforward be certain that we will guarantee their peace and safety.

Uzbek Party Resolution on Tashkent Disorders

90US0154A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Measures To Strengthen Public Discipline and Order in Tashkent"]

[Text] An analysis of the state of affairs, the citizens' numerous appeals to the party and soviet authorities, and meetings of members of the Central Committee Bureau in the labor collectives testify that the day-to-day situation has become sharply exacerbated recently in Tashkent, that discipline is diminishing, and that order in the enterprises and organizations is being violated. The city's working people have been expressing serious concern at the fact that destabilizing, extremist forces have for their selfish purposes been spurring tension and attempting to embroil on national grounds different groups of the population and incite mass unrest. The number of instances of conflicts on a language basis arising in trading, consumer-service, and medical establishments has grown.

All this is causing disquiet and alarm among the people, who are rightly demanding a guarantee of their security and normal tranquil life.

The situation has been particularly aggravated and instances of breaches of public order and generally accepted standards of behavior and of citizens' honor and dignity being insulted have become more frequent in connection with the discussion of the draft law on the republic's official language, the holding of unsanctioned gatherings and meetings, and the irresponsible extremist speeches at them by certain leaders of informal associations. However, these unlawful actions have not been duly repudiated on the part of the soviet and law enforcement authorities, and the full force of the law has not been used to put a stop to them.

The Tashkent Gorkom [city committee] and the raykoms [rayon committees] are failing to make a timely and scrupulous assessment of the events occurring in the city, are saying nothing about the inaction and passive position of leaders, communists, and Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] members and are reconciling themselves to the fact that some of them are taking part in the unsanctioned meetings. The activity of the party committees lacks militancy and organizing initiative in the unification of the efforts of the primary party and public organizations, work force soviets, makhalla [city district] committees, and various formations pertaining to an improvement in the social and political situation.

The Bureau of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee has resolved:

To consider wholly impermissible the current situation in Tashkent and to demand of the gorkom (Comrade A.I. Fazylbekov) and the Tashkent Gorispolkom [city executive committee] (Comrade Sh.R. Shaabdurakhimov) the adoption of the most decisive and exhaustive measures to stabilize the social and political situation. Intensification of the demands made on and the exactingness toward executive cadres for ensuring high public order, discipline, and organization. Immediate discussion of the tasks pertaining to implementation of the scheduled measures at meetings of the party-economic aktiv and open party meetings in the work force. Notification of each official of the party, soviet, and law enforcement authorities that instances of inaction on their part and departure from their duty will be strictly assessed to the point of their dismissal.

To call the attention of the Tashkent Gorkom (Comrade M.M. Mirkasymov) to the need for an intensification of political methods of influencing the normal and stable rhythm of the life and activity of the capital of the republic and the removal of the causes and factors negatively influencing people's mood.

To demand of communist executives of the procuracy, the Internal Affairs and Justice Ministries, and the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court, Comrades D.A. Usatov, V.M. Kamalov, B.G. Alimdzhanov, and B.M. Malikov, that they invigorate the activity of the law enforcement authorities pertaining to public order and the prevention of infractions of the law, particularly an end to conflict situations on interethnic grounds; that they respond keenly and scrupulously to all deviations from the law and strive for the inevitability of punishment for crimes; that they adopt measures to strengthen the internal affairs authorities of Tashkent with professionally trained, honest personnel adhering to scrupulous positions.

That they bring high discipline and order to bear in the courts and the police and procuracy authorities in order that each official perform his duty unswervingly; that this question be discussed in the obkoms [oblast committees], gorkoms, and raykoms and at meetings of law enforcement authority and ministry and department boards; that a meeting on this issue be held in the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

To caution executives of the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Consumer Service, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Motor Transport, and the Ministry of Education, the Uzbekbrlyasha, and other ministries and departments as to their personal responsibility for any conflicts which arise on language grounds at the time of service of the public in organizations and establishments under their jurisdiction.

The media will regularly illustrate the work of the party, soviet, and economic authorities, the police, procuracy, the court and public organizations, and of the volunteer public order squads on strengthening public discipline and order and bringing to public judgment the actions of the persons who are attempting to destabilize the situation and disrupt Soviet people's normal life.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau appeals to the work force, the makhalla committees, and the entire population of the republic for the most active participation in a strengthening of public order and discipline. Uzbekistan has always been and will remain a republic of internationalism, good- neighborliness of all peoples and nations, and implacability toward and intolerance of all manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism.

Tashkent Obkom Plenum Elects New First Secretary

LD1411013289 Tashkent Domestic Service in Crimean Tatar 0000 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The Tashkent Obkom [oblast party committee] Plenum was held in Tashkent on 28 October. [passage omitted]

The plenum examined organizational matters.

The plenum relieved M.M. Mirkasymov of his duty as first secretary of the okbom in connection with his appointment as chairman of the Uzbekistan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers.

S. Mamarasulov, who has been working as first secretay of the Surkhandarya Obkom, was elected first secretary of the Tashkent obkom.

After a secret ballot between a few candidates, V.G. Grishchuk was elected second secretary of the obkom and Sh.N. Makhmudova was elected secretary of the obkom. [passage omitted]

Kazakh Party Plenum Discusses Ideological Work

PM1611144389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[PRAVDA correspondents G. Dildyayev and T. Yesilbayev report under the "Reporters' Teleprinter" rubric: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 13 Nov—A Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum has been held here to discuss the question "On the Progress of the Restructuring of Ideological Work Within the Republic Party Organization and the Tasks of Intensifying Its Effectiveness."

The plenum also adopted a resolution on the convocation of the next 17th Kazakh Communist Party Congress in September 1990 and examined the political platform of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee for elections of Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputies and local soviets of people's deputies.

N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

I.A. Zaramenskiy, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, took part in the work of the plenum.

Kazakh Party To Enhance Mass Media Policy

PM1611145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[Response by U. Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, under rubric "Following Criticism," to earlier PRAVDA article: "'Without Support'"]

[Text] Having discussed the article "Without Support" published in PRAVDA 1 September, the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee considers it to be timely and an accurate reflection of the urgent problems of party leadership of the republic's mass media and the need to improve the structure of republic and local periodicals.

In order to eradicate the faulty practice whereby party committees ignore critical items in newspapers and journals and on television and radio, the following demand is now being made in the republic: Every critical item by the mass media is to be monitored by the relevant party committee. In our opinion, this principle, which is part of the concept evolved by the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Commission to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the mass media, will help to create a system for prompt reaction to targeted publications and broadcasts. The cadre composition of oblast party committee officials responsible for mass media questions has been strengthened.

Measures have been taken to improve the structure of the press. Following a decision by the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, the editorial office of the newspaper VECHERNYAYA ALMA-ATA, or ALMATY AKSHAMY, has been divided into independent collectives, youth newspapers have been launched in Karaganda, some publications have been renamed, including the journal PIONER, and, in line with the ethnic features of a number of rayons, the status of rayon newspapers in these areas has been changed. Questions connected with further improving the structure of the local press will be discussed at a republic conference involving party workers and leaders of the mass media.

Work is being done to improve journalists' work and leisure conditions. A plot of land has been allocated close to Alma-Ata for building a preventive treatment sanatorium for the Kazakh Union of Journalists. Party committees are also making efforts to improve the housing conditions of members of editorial collectives, primarily where the problem is the most serious: in Chimkent, Alma-Ata, and Guryev Oblasts.

Questions connected with strengthening party leadership of the mass media will continue to be constantly monitored by the republic's party organs.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet Relieves Officials

LD0611103189 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Kazakh Socialist Soviet Republic Supreme Soviet has decreed to appoint comrade Erik Khristoforovich Gukasov, first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, and to relieve him from his duties as first deputy chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers [as heard] and chairman of the Kazakh State Agroindustrial Committee.

The President of the KASSR Supreme Soviet has decreed to relieve Comrade Bashmakov from his duties as first deputy chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers, in connection with his transfer to another post.

Tajik Leaders Decry Military Education

LD1611235389 Dushanbe TOJIKISTANI SOVETI in Tajik 8 Nov 89 p 6

[TAJIKTA press agency report]

[Excerpts] In the Presidium of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet.

As reported, the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet held discussions on the state of implementation in the republic of the legal requirements for preparing youths of conscription and pre-conscription age for real military service in the USSR Armed Forces.

A resolution adopted on the subject stresses that serious shortcomings and deficiencies exist in the work of the Tajik SSR Ministries of Public Education, Health, and Internal Affairs, military commissariats, local soviets of peoples deputies, and other relevant departments on the implemenation in the republic of the law on preparing youths of conscription and pre-conscription age for real military service in the USSR Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

Many colleges have been equipped with extremely bad technology. Only 237 schools, or 14 percent of the republican schools, possess educational and material possibilities for elementary military education. The situation is no better in the republican enterprises, institutions, organizations, and collective farms concerning the organization of practice centers for young workers for elementary military education. Out of 22 practice centers for the republican enterprises and organizations, only 15 centers function. Necessary work has not been carried out in the colleges of DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation and Navy] organizations for experts education. Sports and technical clubs for DOSAAF children and youths have not generally been opened in two rayons of Leninabad Oblast, five rayons of Khatlan Oblast, and three rayons of Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast.

As before, a large section of youths who are called up for military service do not know the Russian language very well. This state of affairs is particularly bad in the rural aeas of the republic. Out of a total of 1,663 instructors of military education, 142 have never seen compulsory military servicve. [passage omitted]

The Presidium [of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet] demands from the republican Ministries of Public Education and Health, the Central Committee of DOSAAF, the Tajik SSR military commissariat, and the executive committees of local soviets of peoples deputies to remove all these shortcomings and to fully improve the education of youths for military service. [passage omitted]

Curfew Lifted in Tajik Villages on Kirghiz Border

LD1611203389 Dushanbe TOJIKSTONI SOVETI in Tajik 7 Nov 89

[Text] Decree of the Presidium of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet on lifting curfew hours in the territories of Varukh and Charku village soviets of Isfara Rayon, Leninabad Oblast.

The Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet, in view of improved situation in the territories of Varukh and Charku village soviets of Isfara rayon, Leninabad Oblast, and in accordance with requests from the Executive Committees of the soviets of peoples deputies of Leninabad Oblast and Isfara Rayon, and the wishes of citizens, decrees:

The curfew imposed by the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Suprenme Soviet in the territories of Vorukh and Charku village soviets of Isfara Rayon, Leninabad Oblast, since 13 July 1989 is lifted as of 6 November 1989.

[signed] G. Pallayev, chairman of the Presidium of Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet
A. Kasimova, Secretary of the Presidium of Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet
5 November 1989, city of Dushanbe

Historian Urges Caution on Soviet German Autonomy

LD1611192789 Moscow TASS in English 1815 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—"The main outcome of our forum is that it discussed ways to restore the national autonomy of Soviet Germans," Valentina Chebotaryova, doctor of history, told TASS. She took part in the Soviet Union's first conference on the history and modern problems of Soviet Germans. The two-day scientific forum ended here today.

Speaking about possible ways to restore the autonomy of Soviet Germans, Chebotaryova said the best possible option was to create a German republic in Kazakhstan, home to the majority of Soviet citizens of German descent. A similar national region can also be set up in Altai, where the German population is large.

A second option, favoured by many Soviet Germans, envisages the creation of an autonomous area on the territory of the former Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Volga Germans, which existed from 1924 to August 1941.

They argue it would help restore historic justice. But the project entails large material and is opposed by some people from the Volgograd and Saratov regions.

In this complex situation, Chebotaryova counsels caution. She says that it is necessary first to establish how many Soviet Germans wish to resettle in the Volga region and to clearly define the position of the local population.

She dismissed the so-called Kaliningrad variant as "highly unsatisfactory." This project has appeared fairly recently and envisages the creation of a German autonomous area on the territory of the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation.

PRAVDA on Lukyanov Meetings With Muscovites

PM1611114989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Consolidate Society for Perestroyka's Sake"]

[Text] Why is it that our affairs do not always develop as conceived in April 1985? How are we to overcome the inertia of many existing and new political institutions? Where are the points of contact between departmental interests and the interests of localities, territories, and society as a whole? When will we finally cast off bureaucratism and and formalism in the work of various components of the party, state, and management apparatus? What causes the outbursts of social demagoguery and group egoism camouflaged beneath the slogans and ideas of perestroyka? These and many other complex questions were at the focus of attention during A.I. Lukyanov's 11 November meeting with the party and economic aktiv of Moscow's Leninskiy Rayon.

It can be boldly asserted, however, that the frank dialogue was essentially a continuation of a conversation between the candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the labor collective of the "Soyuz" Science and Production Association. It was there, on the shop floor, in the engineering service departments, in the museum, and in the plant's dining room that a frank conversation on a broad range of problems of our life today and the practical course of perestroyka began on the eve of the October festivities.

While noting that the activity of the party Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the government has never before been as open as it is now, at the same time the participants in the meetings—both at the association and in the rayon party committee—emphasized that a distinguishing feature of the renewal processes is that policy is viewed not by words but by actions.

The debate on the most acute problems more often than not boiled down to recognition of a single fact: All of us and our society as a whole are finding it painful to part company with the past and difficult to master the complexities of the transitional period. It was also said that criticizing the state of affairs is one thing, but being a conscientious participant and active bearer of perestroyka's ideas and goals is something quite different. It was repeatedly said that it is necessary to resist attempts to introduce confusion into the life of society, to sow mistrust in the plans and concepts of perestroyka, and to play down the importance of the economic reform and the reform of the political system.

A.I. Lukyanov dwelt in detail on the activity of the country's supreme organ of power, its committees, and its chambers' permanent commissions. He spoke of the passage of some most important draft laws through the new parliament, including laws affecting the interests of tens of millions of Soviet people, and shared his impressions of the emergence of many politically active and competent parliamentarians in the arena of state activity.

The USSR Supreme Soviet's practical work has convincingly refuted the attempts which were made to tag some far from inoffensive labels on it. From the moment of its election its activity focused on the solution of three key tasks: Forming the USSR Government and other state organs, organizing the fulfillment of instructions from the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and examining draft laws and the most important questions of state life. On the whole, there is every reason to believe that the Supreme Soviet is coping with these tasks, and it is doing so, moreover, in conditions of sharp and at times hours-long debates. Following the initial stage, associated mainly with the performance of executive functions by the supreme organ of power, it is increasingly fully mastering the responsible tasks of legislative and monitoring work.

The meetings provided an occasion for keen discussion of questions associated with the forthcoming elections to republic organs of power and local soviets of people's deputies and the reorganization of their activity. Emphasis was placed on the need to channel their activity toward man, his problems, and his state of mind. In this context people spoke of what they expect from the forthcoming Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, especially as regards the elaboration and implementation of emergency measures for the market's recovery, the improvement of supplies for the population, the enhancement of organization, and the strengthening of production and state discipline.

Discussing practical progress in the implementation of economic reform and displaying awareness of the fact that it was launched in the conditions of a deformed structure, excessive concentration and centralization of economic power, and a national economy which was not receptive to scientific and technical progress and had an inadequate social orientation, the participants in the conversation noted at the same time that the complex situation cannot be attributed only to "the burdens of the past." It is also due to the diverse processes now under way in economic and social life as a whole. It was specifically said that our central economic and sector departments "were nowhere to be found" when material incentives started being unilaterally inflated in the economic mechanism, control over wages and incomes growth was lost, and economic liability for unconscientious attitude toward labor was well and truly jettisoned.

The opinion was expressed that the public dialogue on the entire package of economic problems, including the recent debates on these questions in the CPSU Central Committee, will produce the necessary and long-awaited "solutions" when all economic activity will focus on the desire not to apportion resources but to get down to work, both centrally and locally. The implementation of these tasks ought to be actively promoted by the adoption of the laws on ownership, on land, on leasing and lease relations, on the uniform tax system, and on the socialist enterprise which are now under examination at the USSR Supreme Soviet.

There was a lively exchange of opinions on many questions of internal party life and the specific features of the debate now under way within the framework of preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress. The main point is to ensure that the party—composed of thousands of primary organizations, acting on the principle of electability of its organs, strongly represented in all structures of political, state, and economic power, and having at its disposal an army of skilled specialists—regains its attributes as a dynamic force determining the content, pace, and effectiveness of transformations.

Society has not failed to notice the attempts by certain forces to drive a wedge between the party and the new organs of people's power, to set the party at odds with the people. Surely, it was said at the meetings, it is rethink time for those who strive to divorce the party from the determination of the political line of society's development, who are deliberately whipping up fear, who would like, under the guise of being "genuine" defenders of perestroyka, to strike a blow at the organization whose initiative gave birth to the course of perestroyka.

The party is the guarantor of the reforms which have been launched. There is plenty for it to defend. At the same time, the consolidation of its prestige and the quest for mechanisms for its democratic functioning in a rule-of-law state—today all this demands a profound review and reinterpretation of the CPSU's ideological, theoretical, political, and organizational functions in the perestroyka processes now unfolding in our society. This is not only a question of fundamentally renewing the forms and methods of party work as such, not only a question of further democratizating internal party relations and deepening glasnost in party life, but also a question of arriving at fresh theoretical conclusions, in line with the spirit of the time, about the CPSU's position and role in the conditions of renewal.

In the opinion of participants in the meetings in the capital's Leninskiy Rayon, the party with its tremendous experience can and must act as a connecting link between various social formations and movements and can and must actively promote its policy through Communists in the soviets and other organizations. Its consolidating role in society, its strengthening ties with the masses, and Communists' discipline and responsibility—these are the most important guarantees of the continuation and deepening of perestroyka.

In conclusion A.I. Lukyanov replied to numerous questions.

Leningraders Protest Election Plans

LD1411211589 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] A protest action took place in Leningrad on 12 November, during which telegrams were sent to the Committee of USSR People's Deputies from Leningrad and to the Executive Committee of Leningrad City. The protest concerned possible elections based on industrial-territorial constituencies.

A human chain linked the Central Telegraph building in Gertsen Street with the Leningrad City Executive Committee. About 2,000 people took part in the action and it is thought that every second participant sent a telegram of protest.

KGB Foils Prison Siege; Hostages Freed

LD1411213989 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Chelyabinsk, South Urals November 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko:

The prompt and brave action of Soviet Interior Ministry and State Security (KGB) officers helped foil a prison siege in the Chelyabinsk region and free all eight hostages, journalists were told at the region's police department a little more than 12 hours after the operation ended.

On November 13, a group of ten defendants in a Chelyabinsk jail captured their guard and, threatening him, made their way into a visiting room and kidnapped five women, a child aged 12, and a man.

The demands were tough and preemptory: They needed three submachine-guns and three pistols with catridges, vodka and two cars. If their demands were not met, they threatened to kill the hostages.

Authorities failed to wrest any concessions, the conduct of the kidnappers was insolent and defiant.

They were led by Dobryakov who has a record of three convictions and who did not give in even to pleas from his mother brought by policy to Chelyabinsk from a settlement 120 kilometers away.

The kidnappers demanded three bottles of vodka in exchange for the child. But when their demand was met, they did not release the boy and instead threatened to start killing the hostages.

A task force, headed by senior officers from the region's Interior Ministry and KGB departments and the regional prosecutor, ordered commandos to start an operation to free the hostages.

There were no casualties among hostages in the lightning raid. Two kidnappers received gunshot wounds.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted. An inquiry into the incident is under way.

Cooperative Union Members Defend Actions

PM1411130189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Letter by A. Korobkin and M. Masarskiy, members of USSR Union of United Cooperatives Presidium, and O. Khorov, executive director of USSR Union of Construction Industry Cooperatives, under "Letter to IZVESTIYA" rubric: "Regarding Authority To Act"]

[Text] We learn about our intentions from the newspapers. We open IZVESTIYA (No. 310) and we read that miners no longer are demanding that cooperatives be closed. On the contrary, cooperative members are helping to keep the mines closed.

Two citizens—A.M. Tarasov and V.G. Gorbusev—have signed a contract, that is to say, entered into a civil law relationship. They have assumed commitments which private individuals cannot fulfill—mutual commitments to impose a time limit on the government.

The contract is signed on behalf of the USSR Union of United Cooperatives and the Vorkuta Strike Committee. We will not assume to judge the credentials of V.G. Gorbusev. We do assert categorically that A.M. Tarasov possesses none.

The union presidium has neither discussed nor endorsed this political declaration which objectively helps destabilize the socioeconomic situation in the country. Deepening the crisis in one of the basic sectors will inevitably lead to a sharp decline in the rest and to the statewide energy system being put on emergency overload. Its reserve capacities have been dangerously reduced.

We consider strikes a lawful means of resolving labor disputes between employers and hired workers. However, the USSR law has laid down the nonpolitical procedures for exercising this right. In the Pechora coal basin the law has been violated. Legal nihilism has set down deep roots in our society. It typifies to no lesser extent the actions of state management organs. Suffice it to recall their high-handed treatment of the Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR. The rule-of-law state is still in the process of creation, as is the responsible civil society capable of assuming the functions of production organizer.

The monopoly of state ownership of the means of production has excessively extended the sphere of utilization of hired labor. In conditions of the explosive politicization of the masses any more or less acute confrontation with the authorities is capable of paralyzing production, since the authorities are the basic employer.

Why are cooperative members, including those carrying out state orders, not striking? Because in a cooperative the sphere of utilization of hired labor is negligible. There the collective and the enterprise are one and the same.

It would seem that the social "nuclear reactor" is on the verge of running out of control. Is it not time to urgently put into its core additional graphite control rods in the shape of democratized ownership of the means of production.

Counterfeiting of Rubles, Dollars Viewed

904A0058A Moscow VETERAN in Russian No 43, 23-29 Oct p 7

[Report on interview with First Deputy Chief of the Main Administration for Combating the Theft of Socialist Property of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs N. Sobol by V. Alekseyev: "Attention: Counterfeit Money"; date and place not given]

[Text] "Counterfeiting"—for a long time this topic was under lock and key. For reasons unknown, it was considered to be a secret not only for the mass media but also for the broad circles of the public. Finally, the secret classification has been removed. For the first time, the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has provided documents on the status of combating the counterfeiting of money in our country, put on display the equipment for manufacturing counterfeit bills and the counterfeit bills themselves.

First Deputy Chief of the Main Administration for Combating the Theft of Socialist Property of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs N. Sobol said: "Most frequently, we encounter counterfeit 5, 10, and 25-ruble bills, and considerably less often 3, 50, and 100-ruble bills. Despite the stiff penalties envisaged for counterfeiting, up to 15 years imprisonment, and under exacerbating circumstances, even the exceptional measure of punishment, this does not stop our domestic "kulibins" [Kulibin—an 18th-century self-taught inventor and independent tinkerer]. Between 1986 and 1988 alone, 326 crimes were registered, including 24 committed by groups. One hundred and four counterfeiters were detected. Counterfeit bills worth a total of 16,203 rubles and 233,180 U.S. dollars were removed from circulation.

[Alekseyev] Nikolay Pavlovich, what is the status in our country compared to other states?

[Sobol] Compared to other states, the scale and incidence of this type of illicit activities in our country are considerably smaller. According to the data in an Interpol report, more than $46 million were confiscated in the United States in 1986, including $7,240,000 withdrawn from circulation. As I have already said, in the USSR slightly more than 16,000 rubles in counterfeit money were confiscated over the last 3 years. However, this does not make us complacent.

[Alekseyev] Counterfeiting did not develop overnight, and, perhaps, it has its own history of sorts. What can you say about our country?

[Sobol] Counterfeiting money dates back to ancient times. Thus, Mexicans were even capable of counterfeiting cocoa pods which at that remote time circulated in the country as currency units. Currency was counterfeited in Tsarist Russia as well. The punishment for this kind of crime was also serious at the time. Fifteen thousand people were exiled and 10,000 executed for counterfeiting money.

It should be noted that the fewest counterfeiters were neutralized in the years of the Great Patriotic War. For some reason, at the time this industry was not as developed as it is now. In 1941 through 1944, 69 counterfeiters were detected, whereas in 1945 as many as 244, and in 1946, 27,000 people. Later came a certain decline. Thus, in the last 3 years the number of such crimes declined by 16.5 percent.

[Alekseyev] The evolution of this criminal endeavor indicates that contemporary counterfeiters have gained access to the latest accomplishments of technology.

[Sobol] This is indeed so. Previously, the criminals mainly drew counterfeit currency whereas at present they make extensive use of modern technology at printing enterprises, use high-quality materials, plates, special paper, and paint.

I would like to give you an example. In Vinnitsa Oblast, a criminal gang of 11 persons was exposed. It was led by a certain Kosmach, not employed anywhere, and the metal craftsman-toolmaker Kostyuk. In an apartment, they set up a real laboratory for manufacturing counterfeit money. They used modern resources and photoprinting. In the course of their criminal activities, they manufactured 25,000-rubles worth of counterfeit bills and 100,000 rubles-worth of Vneshposyltorg [All-Union Association of Foreign Parcel Trade] cheques. All of these "handymen" have been convicted and sentenced to between 6 and 15 years.

[Alekseyev] Where do the criminals get materials in short supply, special paper, and ink?

[Sobol] At present, about 7,000 printing enterprises and more than 50,000 sections equipped with modern xeroxing and copying machinery operate in our country. About 3,500 violations of the established rules for acquiring, operating, and storing such equipment and materials are discovered there annually; they are due to poor in-house monitoring. Cases have been found when the equipment of state enterprises and organizations was used for manufacturing counterfeit currency. Let us look, for example, at the case of the Stavropol counterfeiter Baranov. When he was apprehended at one of the markets of the Stavropol Kray they found more than 300 25 and 10-ruble counterfeit bills on him in the course of his arrest and search. Almost as many were found in his apartment. They also found at the apartment 900 blanks for 25-ruble bills, special paper, ink, and even a printing press for manufacturing counterfeit currency. Over 3.5 years, Baranov floated counterfeit bills in 105 cities of the Soviet Union. He inflicted losses on the state going into hundreds of thousands of rubles. The counterfeiter acquired raw and other materials right at regular printing enterprises, and dirt cheap into the bargain.

[Alekseyev] Nikolay Pavlovich, do OBKhSS [expansion unknown] employees have to deal with the counterfeiting of foreign currency?

[Sobol] In an environment of the increasingly acute shortage of fashionable goods, the number of cases of manufacturing foreign currency has increased. The internal affairs organs have recently brought to an end the operation of four dangerous groups which organized mass production of counterfeit U.S. bills. The number of violations of the law associated with the floating in the USSR of counterfeit foreign currency imported from abroad has also increased. Recently, 38 such cases have been registered. It is more difficult to solve these crimes because we still do not belong to the Interpol.

[Alekseyev] What is the persona of a modern counterfeiter, his social profile?

[Sobol] As our analysis shows, these are people with a previous record who are not employed anywhere at present. Fifty percent of them are in the 18 to 30 age bracket. One-half of all counterfeiters lead a life of debauchery, have no families, do not live with their parents. Repeat offenders have been encountered recently with increasing frequency.

[Alekseyev] How is our monetary and credit system to be protected from counterfeiters?

[Sobol] First of all, we need to give some thought to improving the protective properties of our bills so that their forgery could be detected with much greater ease. At present, the issue of changing the spectrum of paint is already under consideration. This will make our job easier. One more thing: It makes sense to establish close contacts with the Interpol taking into account the fact that recently the interest of counterfeiters in foreign currency, and especially the U.S. dollar, has been on rise.

[Alekseyev] Does much counterfeit currency continue to circulate in our country?

[Sobol] A number of crimes involving the manufacturing and floating of counterfeit bills very similar to real currency remain unsolved in our country. Anyone may encounter counterfeit 10-ruble bills with various numbers and of various series of the so-called "Urals version." They are manufactured on a denser homemade paper which does not crunch in a characteristic manner. The water marks in the shape of stars are asymmetrically positioned and have rays of varying length.

Five-ruble bills of the following numbers and series cannot be trusted: Kh-4012450, GE-6776965, OG-8360697, GL-01171106, ChI- 5065148, ChS-8678823. These forgeries are printed on plain paper, watermarks in the shape of stars are absent, and the characteristic crunch is muffled. The text in small letters on the emblem of the USSR is not legible.

If you encounter 25-ruble bills of the AS, GO, and PR series manufactured on smooth art paper, without water marks, with grammatical errors in the text which guarantees the support of the bills by the assets of the state, it is expedient, just as in the two previous cases, not to return the suspect bill but to report this to the nearest militia station and attempt apprehending the person circulating the bill.

Environmental Watchdog To Vet Projects

PM1611161589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[N. Krivomazov article under the "For the First Time" rubric: "Parallel Lines Meet"]

[Text] The unprecedented new public organization—the USSR Social Expert Analysis Committee—will act as a barrier to ill-considered projects and serve as an expert in regard to economic plans, programs, and legislative acts affecting man's environment.

Any ill-considered decision is destructive—destructive both to morality and the economy. The USSR Social Expert Analysis Committee, which was conceived as a parallel structure to departmental expert analysis, starts from this truth. They have different methods of attaining the set objective, but the objective is identical. These parallel lines here coincide on the main point—damage limitation! Choosing the least of a multitude of evils.

"But if you are to tell the people the truth and nothing but the truth, you at least have to be privy to it all yourself," insisted committee cochairmen Zhan Zinchenko and Valeriy Makarov, who have assembled prominent scientists, economists, ecologists, lawyers, sociologists, and health workers in their independent, extradepartmental team. Or to be more accurate, they have at their service virtually any specialist who can be called upon to cooperate at any time. And the "pairing" of cochairmen was far from haphazard.

Zh. Zinchenko is a doctor of technical sciences, a major specialist in the sphere of deep space. V. Makarov is a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a mathematician and an economist.

"What does even a cursory analysis of our large and small projects and schemes show? It shows that they are one-sided in many respects. They are accountable to a particular department rather than to the country. And they are...anonymous," in V. Makarov's view. "Who allowed a pulp and paper combine to be sited on Baykal, a plant which continues even today, despite all the new environmental protection resolutions, to ruin that "glorious lake" and which remains a matter of national shame? Whose blessing graced the plan to divert the northern rivers? Whence appeared the Krasnoyarsk radar station—the size of an Egyptian pyramid and costing several hundreds of millions of rubles—in the Siberian taiga? We can now see for ourselves that the station was built in the wrong place. And its dismantling or conversion will require millions more. We again see for ourselves that hasty decisions are extremely expensive. And that departmental expert analysis is far from always suitable. The expert analysis service 'advisers' will substantiate and validate any decision by their 'paymasters' provided that they are not excluded from the 'feeding trough.' No matter how painful it is to say such words, it is far more painful to fritter money away.

"But who, then, is to provide a reliable barrier to arbitrary decisions?—V. Makarov continued. "The USSR Social Expert Analysis Committee can help tackle this task. The findings of social expert analysis have no force of law, of course, but merely serve as recommendations. But does this mean that departments can ignore them? No, times have changed, and the conclusions of social expert analysis will if necessary be placed on the desk of USSR people's deputies, who will continue the fight against ill-conceived decisions and projects.

"One of the first major pieces of work undertaken by the committee was a commission from the Zaporozhye City Soviet, which had grown weary of the contest for and against a new bridge over the Dnepr. The point is that a new bridge is extremely necessary to the city. It was to run across the picturesque island of Khortitsa, which immediately aroused the indignation of 'greens,' aroused the public of the city, and caused a countrywide stir. What was to be done? The city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] presented the social analysis experts with 5 bridge-construction options. And clearly hinted which option "suited" it. The city soviet essentially hired the committee. But the committee has its own principles, namely, maximum objectivity with maximum professionalism. The gorispolkom is dear to us, but the truth even more so, so to speak...

"Two projects for constructing the bridge across the lower part of the island of Khortitsa were the least damaging. But another thing also became clear at the same time. No matter how upset people in Zaporozhye were about the island, the problem of the new bridge across the Dnepr ranked about fifth in terms of its social importance. Frst place was occupied by the problem of waste discharges from "Zaporozhstal." The city inhabitants are still ready to put up with the traffic jams on the old bridge and wait a while for the new one. But first and foremost it was "Zaporozhstal" which the committee deemed is most important of all today.

"Our second commission came from Karaganda Oblast. The question is whether the second phase of a chemical combine should be constructed. The public, of course, was firmly convinced that it should not be. However, emotion must be cast aside and decisions weighed upon the scales of ecological, economic, and moral considerations. The answers then may perhaps be different, more cogent, less acerbic.

"But we would also like to help our USSR Suprme Soviet," V. Makarov went on. "The well-known science fiction writer Ray Bradbury has a story about a journey into the past, about how its hero trod on a butterfly and the staggering consequences this had in the future. In short, we would like to trace the social consequences of adopting the set of laws which form the basis of the economic reform. The point is that one can count dozens of contradictions and incongruences in the Law on Ownership or the Law on Land about which deputies need to be warned.

"Under our statutes the results of the committee's expert analysis can be used as it thinks fit. That is to say, it will not hide its findings from people even if the commissioner is not in agreement. The statutes lay down that expert analysis may be carried out not only for various management organs but also on the request of individuals."

"That is to say, if Siberians ask you to carry out an expert analysis of that same Baykal combine, you will not refuse and set about helping our sacred Lake Baykal?"

"Precisely so."

Economic

Transportation Official Cites Rail Problem

*904H0042B Moscow GUDOK in Russian
31 Oct 89 p 2*

[Article by the deputy director of the Research and Production Association Transtekhstroyservis for Transportation, L. Osinovskiy: "There Is an Idea— Supporters Are Needed"]

[Text] At present, the operation of railroad transportation is criticized by newspapers, people's deputies make claims against it, and passengers complain about it. All of these accusations are fair in and of themselves. However, even when taken together they are incapable of helping the transportation personnel to improve the situation.

Data on the status of passenger transportation on main lines over many years show that at present our railroads are incapable of carrying even a stream of passengers which is average by world standards. This is due to a multitude of objective factors: The shortage of rolling stock, its unsatisfactory repair, poor maintenance and capacity of railroads, and poor condition of the track. Each of these issues is in need of an immediate solution. However, as we see it, the need to design modern rolling stock is the most important one.

Passenger cars do not meet modern requirements in terms of either their speed performance or their amenities. The following fact also testifies to how far behind we have fallen. Throughout the world, express trains consist only of first and second class cars. On our railroads, the third class—cars with compartments, four persons per compartment—still remains prestigious.

I believe that the time has come to undertake solving these problems in earnest without being afraid of the most capital-intensive and long-range programs, and it is necessary to solve them at the government level. The extensive scenario of railroad development appears to be the simplest way out. That is, second and third tracks have to be laid, high-speed passenger lines have to be built, and more cars have to be provided. However, this is just wishful thinking taking into account the condition of our economy. Quite a lot of potential still has not been tapped along the path of intensive development as well. The point is not to go on making passenger trains longer or to rebuild the cars into double-deckers. A further increase in the speed of movement is possible.

It is no accident that work on this endeavor is so vigorous in many countries. The average speed of traffic may substantially affect the capacity of railroads and the turnaround of cars. In a number of countries, the average speed of passenger trains reaches 150 to 170 kilometers per hour. The range of 170 to 200 kilometers per hour is beginning to be used. In our country, with few exceptions, the average speed of passenger trains is 60 to 80 kilometers an hour which fully reflects the standard of development of domestic railroad technology.

The average speed of a train is determined by a number of factors. For some reason, a firm conviction exists that the main among them is the rated, that is, highest admissible, speed. This involves both the tracks and the rolling stock. Actually, the average speed of movement hinges not on the rated speed but on the deviation from it which at times is quite substantial. About 20 to 25 percent of this deviation is due to the poor maintenance of the track, between 1 and 7 percent to the lack of energy reserve in 50 if not 60 percent of the rolling stock. However, the greatest loss is due to the improper design of the running gear which is the factor forcing reduced speeds on curves.

Curves with a small radius account for approximately a quarter of our railroads. Under such conditions, the rated speed does not influence the average speed virtually in any way. Everything hinges solely on the admissible average speed on curved sections. If the tracks are prepared for high-speed traffic and the rolling stock developed by us is used the average speed of trains with the cars of our design may be increased by approximately a factor of 2; the time in transit between Moscow and Minsk will be reduced from 9 to 5 hours, between Moscow and Kiev, from 11 to 6 hours, and between Leningrad and Murmansk, from 23 to 12 hours.

The State Research and Production Association Transtekhstroyservis has been recently set up in Leningrad as an unaffiliated unit. The task of our association is to design high-speed comfortable rolling stock, without rigid affiliation with the Mintyazmash [expansion unknown] plants. The main emphasis is on introducing progressive ideas, new in principle, of which there is no dearth in the country, as we have found out.

Only several months have passed, but the authors of many interesting designs have already approached us. They want to see us as the conceptual center of progressive technical policy in transportation. For our collective, this would amount to a solution to the master problem. However, for now the main interests of the association involve organizing high-speed passenger traffic primarily due to new designs of the rolling stock, the upper part of the track, and new technologies for reinforcing the permanent way.

The issue of passenger transportation is not being solved, and is even being exacerbated, due to, among other things, the lack of an all-state approach to solving it. The ministries and departments privy to this are not linked by a common purpose and a state program. In the environment of the emerging decentralization of management, no improvement will occur in the future as well unless the actions of all participants are unified on a purely economic basis within an association or a firm. An association created on the basis of the Research and Production Association "Transtekhstroyservis," the Belorussian and Moscow Railroads could become an example of such an association which would initially undertake to organize the high-speed movement of international trains on the Moscow-Brest run. We would undertake to retrofit the rolling stock, provide train service, and perform foreign economic operations. The railroads would be responsible for the issues of operations, preparation of equipment, and station service. The issue of high-speed traffic on other railroads could be resolved in the same manner.

Within the framework of the association, designs of new assemblies will be developed, cars in the existing pool will be retrofitted, and work will begin on designing a new generation of rolling stock.

It would seem to be a good idea. However, it is virtually impossible to implement it within the framework of the existing economic structure: There is no linkage between the interests of the authors, executors, and the final result. Therefore, new entities are necessary which will create special conditions, including financial, for talented executors of work. In the process, financing should be provided only for a qualitatively new idea, a promising technology, and directly to the creative collective. We consider the high-speed rolling stock with a multiaspect system of automatic orientation of design elements developed by us to be such an idea. It ensures an increase in average speeds by 30 to 40 percent and is one of the variants of the transport of the future. Therefore, we have an idea, and we need its supporters.

Rail Minister on Modernization, Budget

904H0047A Moscow GUDOK in Russian
2 Nov 89 p 1

[Speech by USSR Minister of Railways N.S. Konarev to the Supreme Soviet: "Comprehensive Modernization is a Key to Success"]

[Text] Dear comrade deputies! First of all, allow me to thank the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet for the assistance rendered in stabilizing the operation of the railways of our country. The adoption of the resolution on urgent measures, and subsequently the law on the settlement of labor conflicts, has played a favorable role in eliminating the phenomena destructive of the national economy which occurred in Transcaucasia, Moldavia, Estonia, and other regions of the country.

By now, regular movement of the stream of cars to Armenia has been restored. Over there, the unloading of cars has increased to 2,000 a day the norm being 1,700. All trains delayed at border crossings have been moved. Imported freight has been hauled out of the seaports, and a regular technological process has been restored there. We are accelerating the rate of shipping freight and containers from the freight terminals of cities. Other indicators are also improving. The plan for October was fulfilled virtually for the entire assortment of foodstuffs freight. We strive to ensure stable operations with regard to this type of freight on the eve of winter.

At present, providing stable supplies for the national economy during the winter season has the undivided attention of the employees of our industry. On the railroads of the Urals and Siberia, winter already reigns. I would ask the Supreme Soviet to continue preventing unhealthy social forces from interfering in any manner with the normal operation of the transportation conveyer of the entire country which is a pillar of the entire national economy, of all its complexes.

Discipline, order, and great responsibility for the tasks entrusted are a reliable guarantee of fulfilling the quotas in the 2 months remaining before the end of the year. However, now that the session of the Supreme Soviet is considering and, hopefully, will adopt the state plan and budget of the country for 1990, all of us must think about how to fulfill it. After all, this is the primary condition for overcoming the difficult situation in our country. I believe it would be correct for the USSR Supreme Soviet to appeal to all toilers of the country with an urgent request to get down to business, to consistently fulfill and overfulfill plan quotas in all sectors of the national economy, at all enterprises, in all republics and regions of the country.

Only beneficial creative labor [as published]. We, the railroad employees, call on all Soviet people, including the miners, to toil intensively and to contribute to rectifying the state of affairs in the country.

As far as we, the railroad employees, are concerned, I would like to state with the full force of authority that, despite the extremely difficult situation with material and technical facilities and the lack of solutions to many social problems, the collectives of railroads, plants, subways, transportation construction projects, and other enterprises of the industry are increasingly convinced that [the path toward] the success of perestroyka runs through highly organized labor, that the fulfillment of the plan for the 2 months of this year is a reliable foundation for a successful start in 1990.

What should be done? First of all, it is necessary to use rationally the resources we have. I must tell you that we complain too often about the shortage of capacity and resources and make a big mistake. There is reserve capacity in the national economy and in our industry. There is potential, and it should be used rationally. For example, we say that there is a shortage of rolling stock in our country. Nonetheless, we are working. At night, the unloading of cars amounts to 26 percent, loading to 30 percent [of daytime levels]; the statistic for Saturdays and Sundays is lower yet. These are tremendous losses! It would be enough to improve the rhythmical pace of work by 10 percent in order for us to solve the problem of transportation support for the country. We have to work.

Many other arguments may be presented to the effect that we may improve the status without investing and tapping additional resources.

Certainly, this is not to say that transportation needs no help or requires no augmentation of its might. Our fixed capital is quite obsolete. It needs to be renewed in order for us to be up to more intensive work.

The Ministry of Railways worked on the draft 1990 plan persistently together with the Gosplan [State Planning Committee], the USSR Ministry of Finance, Commission for Transportation, Communications, and Data Management, and the Plan and Budget Commission. Due to this, a number of positions in it were successfully corrected. We are grateful to the USSR Council of Ministers and the Plan and Budget Commission for supporting our requests with regard to meeting the social needs of railway personnel. I am confident that great accomplishments in labor will be our response.

The decision of the government to extend the state order to the main types of industrial products delivered to railway transportation is very significant. This eliminates the lack of logic which was built in during the development of the new economic mechanism with surprising ease, and in keeping with which deliveries to railway transportation were divided into mandatory and non-mandatory. Railway transportation constitutes a unified mechanism; its every part needs to be supplied with everything necessary in a timely manner in order for the mechanism to function without disruptions. In this reference, I would ask to reject the position of the Gosplan according to which open cars carrying more than 50 percent of all freight be excluded in the state order.

I would also ask to obligate the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry and the USSR Ministry of Heavy Machine Building to bring deliveries to railway transportation to 40,000 open cars in 1990. As early as next year, we should resolutely set the course for the modernization and reconstruction of railways as the main pillar of the economy of our state. In 1892, at the opening of an international railway congress, the well-known statesman of Russia Vitte said: "At present, it is not necessary to prove to someone that the railways are the most powerful driving force of civilization and of the rapprochement of peoples of different countries." It was exactly at the end of last century that Russia was building and commissioning 2,000 kilometers annually. We are going to celebrate 100 years of the Transsiberian Main Line soon. It has made an enormous contribution to the economy of the country! I believe that the outlays have been recouped hundreds of times over. At present, we need to make a decision on implementing a program of modernization on railroads which has been developed in keeping with the assignment of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

I support the draft plan and budget for 1990.

Rail Stations Clogged, 'No End in Sight'

904H0042A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Article by B. Pipiya: "Cemetery of Goods"]

[Text] "Sabotage?"—this was the title of a note accompanied by pictures which was published in PRAVDA on 6 October. Among other things, it said that thousands of containers with various products have accumulated at the stations of Moscow; hundreds of cars are idle without having been unloaded.

Here is the response of the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet, Ye. Kazantsev, to the item in our newspaper. We publish it in an abbreviated form without distorting the sense of it:

"Due to an abrupt increase in the arrival of freight for the national economy in Moscow, a tense situation has developed in organizing its pickup by the addressees of freight. The main segment of deliveries of freight from the railroad has been reassigned to motor vehicle transportation. Employees of motor vehicle transportation have succeeded in increasing the volumes of pickup of freight and containers at the stations of the Moscow junction, including the increase in the pickup of large-capacity containers by 22 percent due to the use of trucks belonging to departmental fleets and the reassignment of their own trucks from other kinds of haulage, despite the consistent insufficient deliveries in recent years of trucks to the Mosavtotrans Association for replenishment in keeping with the growing volume of haulage and for the replacement of worn-out and obsolete stock of vehicles.

"The situation was exacerbated by the fact that between July and October of this year about 7,000 trucks were detailed for harvesting, as well as for construction work in Leninakan, including more than 900 vehicles from the motor vehicle pools serving the Moscow railroad junction.

"Even under these conditions, motor vehicle transportation has virtually not reduced the volume of hauling freight and containers, ensured the pickup of foodstuffs and manufactured goods in keeping with the technology of freight handling, on the 2d or 3d day after their arrival at the station.

"An inspection has determined that imported furniture, cosmetics, coffee, tea, peas, soap, shampoo and washing detergents, TV sets, refrigerators, batteries, and cigarettes enumerated in the note 'Sabotage?' have not arrived at the station Moscow-Freight-Yaroslavskaya. Boxes with drugs for the Association Pharmatseya, showed in the picture, are not being accepted by the addressee due to the absence of storage space at its facility.

"As for the picture of the tractor which arrived for the Moscow Plant of Construction and Highway Equipment and was unloaded on 29 September at the station of Mitkovo, the recipient of freight who has been notified of the arrival of equipment for him in a timely manner should drive it away under its own power.

"The leadership of the Moscow City Executive Committee is aware of the unsolved problems with the pickup of freight at railroad stations and has a specific program of measures which will make it possible to stabilize the state of affairs at the junction between 1990 and 1995.

"The lopsided treatment of the topic in the publication 'Sabotage?', the bias and incompetence belittle the intensive labor of thousands of people working on the transportation conveyer who are employed in unattractive, difficult jobs. Materials of such nature confuse the readers and do not facilitate creating an objective public opinion with regard to the issue of shortages in shops."

So, it turns out that we reported a falsehood? Yes, no.... At present as well, the situation at the stations is changing little. As O. Voytov, deputy chief of container traffic and commercial work of the Moscow Railroad, told a PRAVDA correspondent, as of 17 October 3,592 medium-capacity containers and 2,200 large-capacity containers were stored at the lots of the freight stations of Moscow. Waiting for unloading were 1,387 cars, including 860 cars placed at the line stations of the Moscow Railroad Orekhovo-Zuyevo, Dulevo, Shalikovo, Akulovo, Tolstopaltsevo, and others. What is stuck en route? Thus, at the station of Bekasovo-1 cars with imported furniture, tea, footwear, cosmetics, wallpaper, and knitted goods are parked. At the station Machikhino, furniture, coffee beans, instant coffee, clothing, fabrics, bathroom tissue, wallpaper, wheelchairs, and TV tubes sit like dead weight.... At the station of Serebryannyy Bor, there is a cemetery of goods consisting of furniture, wallpaper, beans, coffee, knitted goods, fabrics....

On the same day, we looked at the station Moscow-Freight-Kiyevskaya together with O. Voytov.

The chief of the station, L. Chernobelskiy, said: "At present, we are holding 550 20-ton containers, 55 cars. They carry Indian tea, coffee beans, imported living room furniture, various juices, tobacco, Bulgarian gherkins, vegetable salad and apples from Hungary, haberdashery from India, wine, carpets, underwear, Hungarian enamel ware, green peas, and tomatoes. The goods have not been able to find their way to the store shelves since September."

The territory of the station is literally piled up with industrial freight. There are machine tools, truck trailers, various construction equipment, and metal assemblies....

L. Chernobelskiy complains: "Disarray in the pickup of freight began in October of last year, and there is no end in sight. During the 9 months of this year, the Mosavtotrans paid us R855,000 for failure to pick up the freight on time. but what's the use?"

As our readers can see, they have a right to decide for themselves who is misinforming them—the newspaper PRAVDA or the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet.

The most notable—quote-unquote, to be sure—passage in Kazantsev's letter consists of his assurances that the specific program of measures planned will make it possible to stabilize the state of affairs at the Moscow railroad junction in 1990 through 1995....

First Currency Auction Assessed

PM1511113389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[M. Berger, F. Ivanov article: "The First Currency Auction. Reflections on the Results of Trading"]

[Excerpts] A briefing devoted to the results of the first currency auction, attended by Soviet state enterprises wishing to acquire or sell freely convertible currency (FCC) at contract prices, was held at the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekonombank]. [passage omitted]

Even before the first auction was announced—immediately after the adoption in principle of the decision to organize such events—misgivings were expressed that there would be only buyers and no sellers on this market. So what has practical experience shown? These misgivings, while not unfounded, were not necessarily absolutely correct. There were currency sellers, and the average sum offered for sale was higher than the average application for purchase. However, it cannot be claimed, of course, that the auction committee was swamped with sale offers. As T. Alibegov, deputy chairman of the USSR Vneshekonombank Board, who conducted the briefing, announced, there were 31 offers of sale, while the number of buyers was seven times greater, totaling 210.

According to T. Alibegov, people in possession of FCC do not yet fully understand the advantages which currency auctions have opened up for them. For instance, by selling currency earned as a result of exports at an auction, an enterprise can sharply increase its production profitability. Admittedly this can be done in other ways too; the question merely is what the enterprise needs more today—high profitability which yields "easy" rubles, or hard currency which opens up broad opportunities for its owner both in terms of production development and in terms of the social sphere.

If the small number of sellers is generally understandable, the small number of buyers, in our opinion, borders on the strange. Either not everyone noticed the auction announcement, or they viewed the very opportunity of acquiring foreign currency for rubles with suspicion. It has to be mentioned that a number of applications had to be turned down by the auction committee because of their incompatibility with the provision on holding auctions. (Joint enterprises and cooperatives, for instance, cannot take part in trading).

However that may be, the auction took place and 8.5 million foreign-exchange rubles changed hands: That was the total FCC sold and acquired. [passage omitted]

The average price paid for foreign currency at the auction was R15.2 for one foreign-exchange ruble. That is more than a 15-fold "divergence" from the official rate of the USSR State Bank.

The official who conducted the press conference warned against drawing the conclusion that the correlation which emerged at the auction constitutes the actual ruble exchange rate. It is not even a rate, merely a contract price for FCC which emerged at a specific auction, T. Alibegov emphasized. In his opinion it is likely to go down. In any event, it proved lower than the "astronomic" rates which certain specialists predicted buyers could expect.

Is it advantageous for the Vneshekonombank to hold such auctions? From the viewpoint of pure profit, it is not. One per cent of the deal (but not more than R1,000) barely covers the organizational expenses. However, in this case the bank, as was stated at the briefing, was not pursuing purely commercial objectives. In the longer term the "auction group" may be turned into an independent, economically accountable organization, which would enable the Vneshekonombank to take part in trading on a par with others. Now, when the bank itself is holding the auctions, its participation in them is not possible; the conflict of interests would be too obvious. Incidentally, these are merely organizational details. A more important point is how auctioning itself is going to develop in the currency sphere.

To a question about the possible expansion of the circle of auction participants, T. Alibegov replied that it is likely that in the future industrial cooperatives will be admitted—as, incidentally, is envisaged in the decision on holding currency auctions. The situation is more complex as regards joint ventures which are not mentioned in the said decision, but their participation in trading should not be ruled out in principle. Why have cooperatives not been admitted straight away? The auction organizers are troubled by the difficulty of deciding whether a cooperative can be classed as a production cooperative, which is a key criterion for participation in auctions. Auctions involving other than hard types of currency are also planned.

It proved impossible to clarify one controversial question during the press conference: Who specifically were the currency sellers? The official conducting the press conference declined to cite one concrete example, arguing that this constitutes a commercial secret. This argument may be justified, but the anonymity of the sellers reinforces certain misgivings about the origin of if not all, then at least a considerable proportion of the sold currency. It cannot be ruled out that the small number of offers to sell calls into question the very idea of holding auctions. Nor can it be ruled out that in order to save the idea currency from state reserves was used.

Two important circumstances favor this assumption. First, I. Ivanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, addressing a session of the All-Union Directors Club in May this year, mentioned the intention to use $50 million from state reservces precisely to back the idea of currency auctions (Journal EKO, No. 9, 1989). Second, T. Alibegov, replying to a question about the possible participation of the state in the said auction, noted that the state is in certain respects also an economic unit and hence has the right to take part in auctions. However, whether this "unit" actually took part is a commercial secret.

1990 Plan Seen as 'Last Chance' for Economy

PM1511110589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[R. Lynev article under "Topical Subject" rubric: "Last-Chance Plan"]

[Text] The USSR State Plan for Economic and Social Development and the country's budget for 1990 which have been ratified have been published. Both the plan and the budget above all represent figures and percentages. Now there are appreciably fewer of them, fewer percentages elevated to the rank of laws, than in previous years. But they hide the utter drama of the moment: A desire to give the plan and budget, on the one hand, an overtly social thrust and, on the other, an extraordinary character, a feeling that next year may be the last chance for the economy, and for every one of us.

Situations even arose in the course of the discussion of the drafts of both documents within the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions where it was proposed to send the plan and budget back for finishing touches or elaborate a plan for the first quarter alone. Nonetheless the sensible approach prevailed. Both the plan and the budget won deputies' support after all the finishing touches and comments.

However, the naive faith in the salvational power of the adopted decrees was not ridiculed today. It was pointed out at the session itself that centralized decisions alone cannot resolve the problem of mobilizing the economy's existing reserves and strengthening the economy—everyone involved in social production must have a committed attitude to improving the state of affairs. Everything is by no means all right here. Empty shelves gladden no one. But at the same time enterprises' independence, which they acquired in the course of reform, is employed pretty often to obtain profit by inflating prices rather than by reducing prime costs and broadening the production and improving the quality of output. Unearned money is paid out, which will in turn bring about an increasing imbalance between the population's income and expenditure and reduce the purchasing power of the ruble.

Take unproductive expenditure. Today it amounts to R29 billion, which means an annual deduction of 5 percent from our national income. Tens of billions of rubles have gotten bogged down in unfinished construction and above-normative stocks of commodities at enterprises. According to USSR Finance Minister V.S. Pavlov, no country in the world has such excessive and economically unprofitable stocks.

In the quest for ways to overcome unprofitableness, deputies at Supreme Soviet commissions and committees raised the question of stopping expenditure of state budget funds on maintaining unprofitable enterprises—let them take credits and earn their their own living. Just! Budget handouts for these purposes have been curtailed. But aid to laggardly enterprises is still given using funds from well-off economic units— via intrasector redistribution channels—contrary to the logic of economic reform.

Many of the people who followed the work of the Supreme Soviet session pointed out that deputies were able to overcome the original overtones of a mass meeting and problems began to be discussed in more depth, more thoroughly, and constructively. In resolving serious economic and financial questions, our parliament has, at it were, grown up. Most deputies advocated, for instance, that additional sources of resources be sought for the development of the social sphere in broadening the budget's income rather than redistributing budget funds, which are already extremely limited.

If voters support this mood among deputies with actions and with their own funds via state loans, next year may be a transitional year toward a new, healthy, and dynamic economy.

Politburo Debates Tyumen Oil Problems

PM1311125589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1,2

[Report by unnamed correspondent under the "From the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Session" rubric: "New Approaches to Tyumen's Wealth"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] PRAVDA continues the publication of more detailed material from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo sessions. Today we give an account of the 3 November discussion of the USSR Council of Ministers report on how questions of the social development and comprehensive use of Western Siberia's highly valuable raw material resources are being resolved. V.A. Durasov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], delivered a report on this question at the Politburo sitting. You can read the item "New Approaches to Tyumen's Wealth" on page 2.

More than 6 months after the publication of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the development of the petrochemical industry in Western Siberia the polemics about whether petrochemical complexes should be constructed there or not have still not died down in newspapers and journals. These complexes will have to produce products for which there is an acute need in virtually all sectors of the national economy and above all consumer goods production, from the petroleum gas by-products which have been burnt off for 25 years now in gigantic flares.

The opinions of the disputing sides have remained diametrically opposed throughout this period. Some claimed that it is better to collect the gaseous by-products and pump them in a semiliquid state by pipeline to existing petrochemical enterprises in the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], the Bashkir ASSR, and the Volga region to process them there into plastics, rubber, film, and other petrochemical goods. But, when there was an explosion in one of the pipelines, the supporters of this viewpoint moderated their activity.

Even more extreme opponents of the chemical industry believed in general that such enterprises should not be constructed at all since this is unecological and costly, and diverts funds away from the solution of social problems. Let us recall the headlines of articles and trenchant letters in certain central newspapers: "Another 'Construction Site of the Century'?" "Where Are We Rushing Off To?" "Giant on Stilts," and so on.

On the other hand, having thoughtfully studied the situation at the local level and weighed up all the "pros" and "cons," a large group of West Siberian scientists wrote a well-reasoned letter this fall defending the development of the petrochemical industry in Western Siberia and asked USSR Minister N.V. Lemayev, whose department dealt with the proposal to construct petrochemical complexes, to inform the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the country's government of these questions.

How do the working people of Tyumen Oblast themselves regard these questions that are of importance for them above all? The inhabitants of one of Western Siberia's largest cities—Surgut—gathered for a rally and sent an appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The headline of the appeal published in the local newspaper is typical: "Please, Construct a Chemical Complex!" The same month TYUMENSKAYA PRAVDA published an open letter to members of the USSR Supreme Soviet signed by 16 scientists from Tyumen's institutes. The authors of the letter are unanimous in considering it possible and advisable to resolve the question of creating a Tyumen petrochemical complex positively but at the same time they believe that this should be confined to the construction of only two instead of five petrochemical combines—in the cities of Surgut and Tobolsk—in the near future.

A trade union conference at the "Zapsibgidrostroy" Trust even sent a cable to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Inter alia, it said: "For 25 years we have been burning off very valuable raw material in flares. We believe that an ecologically clean petrochemical industry must be developed in Western Siberia during the transition to regional economic accountability [khozraschet] using the most modern technology."

Having first studied these and many other materials and documents relating to the solution of social problems, the life and work of workers in Western Siberia, and the comprehensive use of the region's highly valuable raw material resources, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo heard a report from the USSR Council of Ministers 3 November on these questions.

Some people may think: Why was it the Central Committee Politburo which studied the problems of assimilating natural resources most effectively and the heated debates over the region's socioeconomic development? Are these really political questions? Yes, socioeconomic questions here are inextricably interwoven with political questions. As in other very important problems in the country's life, economics and politics are inseparable from one another. For a number of scientists and public representatives have voiced serious concern and doubts regarding our economy's ability to sustain the simultaneous construction of five petrochemical complexes now and in the future at a total cost of approximately R41 billion, as originally envisaged.

Leading scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences—Vice Presidents O.M. Nefedov and V.A. Koptyug and Academician A.G. Aganbegyan, secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Department—also expressed their opinion on the problem before it was examined at the Central Committee Politburo. In a letter addressed to the government, they said that under present conditions the transformation of the raw hydrocarbons which are currently being burned off into petrochemical and chemical products not only is a means of speeding up the chemicalization of the national economy but will also make it possible to save on the irreplaceable natural resource that is oil. At the same time these scientists proposed constructing only two complexes—in Tobolsk and Surgut—in the 13th 5-Year Plan. In that case the volume of capital investments in basic production will amount to only R5.5 billion, including R2.6 billion in freely convertible currency (joint enterprises are being created). Moreover, there is an urgent need for expenditure of R1.9 billion on developing the infrastructure and resolving social problems of improving people's living standards. A technical and economic investigation of the projects revealed that these funds will be recouped from the construction of the Tobolsk complex in less than 6 years and at Surgut in 7 years. These timeframes are quite normal from the economic viewpoint.

Speaking at the Central Committee Politburo session on the government's instructions, V.A. Durasov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, cited extremely impressive arguments in defense of developing the petrochemical industry in Western Siberia. We ensure priority development of polymer chemistry in order to speed up the construction of housing and social facilities and saturate the market with consumer goods—clothing, footwear, televisions, videorecorders, passenger vehicles, and detergents. For if just 1 tonne of light carbons—gaseous petrochemical by-products—are processed, various consumer goods worth R15,000-20,000 may be obtained. But the country has the capability to process 4-6 million tonnes of these raw materials annually, which will entail production of goods worth many tens of billions of rubles.

But at present the USSR is substantially lagging behind a number of countries in terms of the level of its economy's chemicalization. In comparison with the United States, for instance, we produce respectively 6, 3.5, and nearly 4 times less plastics, chemical fibers, and synthetic detergents. It is no coincidence that we have to annually import chemical output worth approximately R2.6 billion, including plastics to a value of R600 million. We burn off our highly valuable petroleum raw materials in flares while we buy in output made from the same raw materials. It is particularly distressing that our present-day imports of chemical commodities alone require us to sell 40 million tonnes of oil a year abroad. Is that not absurd?

M.S. Gorbachev asked G.P. Bogomyakov, first secretary of Tyumen Oblast CPSU Committee, to speak at the Central Committee Politburo session in order to take into consideration the opinion of Tyumen Oblast's Communists regarding the development of the petrochemical industry in West Siberia.

The question on the agenda of the Central Committee Politburo session, the speaker said, is of vital importance for our communists and all working people in the oblast. The future of the region depends on its solution. When you visited us in September 1985, Mikhail Sergeyevich, you said then that the West Siberian petroleum and gas complex was entering a new phase in its development—it was to transfer from a raw material to a processing orientation. This was what gave rise to the subsequent decisions to construct major petrochemical complexes in our oblast. The inhabitants of many cities and settlements took a most active part in the debate that subsequently unfolded our oblast on this question.

The prevailing viewpoint in the oblast, the speaker continued, is that we must not get carried away by giant mania. Considering the country's financial difficulties, we should concentrate funds on the facilities of the topmost priority most necessary to the people. Unfortunately, while we are debating, the flares are burning. More than 200 million tonnes of gasoline fractions have been burned off recently after the major accident in the Bashkir ASSR and the shutdown of the West Siberia-Urals-Volga pipelines. There are proposals in the oblast to set up enterprises in Surgut, Novyy Urengoy, and Tobolsk processing raw hydrocarbons and producing such acutely necessary output as polyethylene, polypropylene, and so on. Here R5.5. billion will be needed to erect the first phases of these plants. These projections coincide with USSR Gosplan recommendations. The people of Tyumen have not merely submitted a proposal to the government but have already done a great deal to actively develop the construction industry here and to step up attention toward the construction of sociocultural and consumer amenities and specialist training here....

A gas concern set up recently has begun to operate, L.D. Ryabev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Fuel and Power Engineering Complex Bureau, said. Displaying initiative, the concern succeeded in finding a suitable foreign partner, who will help equip the enterprise under construction on the basis of the Urengoy deposits, and it will provide the country with approximately 300,000 tonnes of polyethylene as early as 1993. In the coming years, too, petroleum and gas workers will not be bypassed in the development of the petrochemical industry in the region. Raw materials must be turned into end products on site.

Supporting the initiative displayed by the people of Tyumen, N.I. Ryzhkov said that our country cannot remain the raw material appendage of the West. They buy oil and gas from us at low world prices and produce most varied commodities—including pantyhose—from our raw materials and sell them back to us at a huge profit. The social factor is also significant. In connection with the drastic restriction of pipeline construction in Western Siberia major construction organizations are being released for other work. They will work on building petrochemical complexes. Thus the government's strategy aimed at erecting five petrochemical complexes is fully proving its worth.

To conclude the session M.S. Gorbachev said that it will now be correct and economically effective not to spread financial resources over the simultaneous construction of five complexes. It is better to do our utmost to speed up work on the first phase—the Tobolsk, Surgut, and Urengoy complexes. When they begin to produce hard currency, some of that currency may be channeled into developing other complexes and cities in Western Siberia. The main thing is to explain to our working people that all this is being done in the interests of the workers of West Siberia and the whole country and in the interests of regional economic accountability. We must not only explain, but also practically speed up the solution of all Tyumen Oblast's social problems. When people sense real concern for them, they will work better.

Immediately after the session your correspondent talked with V.A. Durasov, who delivered a report at the Politburo. He said the following:

"I was won over by the professional, creative, and interested atmosphere at the session. At the same time a spirit of debate prevailed in the hall. Moreover, the level of the debate and mutual exactingness was unusually high. At every turn of the debate people's interests were constantly the invisible focus of attention. This made a very great impression on me since this was the first time that I had spoken at a Central Committee Politburo session."

Estonian Consumer Services Ministry Abolished

904A0057A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report of interview with V. Khalmyagi, former Estonian SSR Minister of Consumer Services, by L. Levitskiy, IZVESTIYA correspondent, Tallinn: "Ministry Abolished"; date and place not specified]

[Text] **The Council of Ministers of Estonia has adopted a decree on the reorganization of the system for providing consumer services to the population. Its essence is as follows: The Ministry of Consumer Services is being abolished, and all enterprises of the branch will become fully independent and self-dependent.**

The decision of the government was supported in the republic's parliament: At a recent session, the Supreme Soviet of Estonia approved a proposal to abolish the ministry. Minister V. Khalmyagi is relieved of duty. He was thanked for his many years of service and successful management of the branch. This is by no means just a formality and a ritual farewell. Recently, the ministry marked its 20th anniversary, and V. Khalmyagi headed it for 15 years. During that time, the volume of services tripled, and profits grew by a factor of four. Today, an inhabitant of Estonia is the most "serviced" in the country, and workers of the consumer services are the most technically equipped. In abundance of equipment, the republic's consumer services exceed the average union level by one and a half times.

But, nonetheless, the ministry was abolished.

"This is the paradox: We are the first in the country in results, but the people are frequently dissatisfied with us," V. Khalmyagi explained when I came to interview the now former minister.

[Levitskiy] In a discussion at a meeting of the Council of Ministers, I heard the comment: The ministry has been working a long time on self-abolishment. Is this really so?

[Khalmyagi] That's life. The more self-dependence and rights we gave to the collectives, the narrower became the field of activity of the staff. But this is also good: The concern of the enterprises in increasing services and profits increased sharply. But any initiative requires emancipation. Also, competitors appeared in the cooperatives who are practically not held back by anything, and this also accelerated changes.

[Levitskiy] What branches, in your view, have matured to the point where they can make a transition to the self-dependence of enterprises without the ministry watching over them?

[Khalmyagi] If only we could do without the usual haranguing. Genuine reorganization arises inside the branch itself, naturally changing its system of relations. We also did not come to today's measure immediately. There were various reorganizations, and the administrative staff was reduced. When 44 persons remained out of

110, our services willy-nilly gave enterprises much more independence. The next step had to be taken. But what kind? The expanded collegium of the ministry assembled three times. There was an examination of a proposal to create a republic union or association of enterprises in place of the the Minzbyt [Ministry of Consumer Services]. But almost all of the managers and chief specialists of the enterprises rejected the idea. Any superior organ represents a flow of papers downward from above and vice versa, and this is an inevitable limitation. We are tired of it. Complete self-dependence has quite a few of its own severe facets. The collectives alone, especially the large city unions, will immediately get bigger in development. Rural servicing will become very complicated. Complex acceptance stations are somehow keeping things going, but they will not be able to withstand the ordeal of economic accountability. House-call services either will be inconvenient for the enterprise, or very expensive for the rural population. In this, it is not possible to do without the help of cooperatives and individual specialists. The ispolkoms [executive committees] of local soviets will have to resolve the problem of small villages and hamlets.

[Levitskiy] But the major enterprises will also have their major concerns: Technical development, material supplies, and capital construction. Who will support them?

[Khalmyagi] The local soviets will become customers of the new enterprises. They will receive the necessary resources from the budget. This in no way is a gift to consumer services, which pay taxes from income, and which allot considerable resources to the same budget.

Such a complicated problem as supplies has to be resolved anew. A large part of all of the material-technical resources is now being allotted to enterprises by the republic's Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]. We, the ministry, always received material and equipment in short supply through the union Gossnab. Moscow, and you must emphasize this, helped us a lot. In some years, up to R300,000 in foreign currency rubles were allocated to republic consumer services for the acquisition of imported equipment. Now the enterprises themselves will have to arrange direct ties with other republics, and even with foreign partners. They will need assistance in this and, according to a decree of the Council of Ministers, a department of consumer services must be created at the Estonian Gosplan [State Planning Committee]. But its organization is being delayed.

[Levitskiy] Won't this department become a kind of "disguised" ministry?

[Khalmyagi] In no way! The number of people in the department is a total of six persons, and they will be engaged only with problems of material-technical support. As long as we do not have real wholesale trade and market relationships, we cannot do without such a connecting link.

[Levitskiy] And in production activity, is there complete freedom in the enterprises? Will there really not be any coordinators at all?

[Khalmyagi] I hope there will not be any. There will be helpers. A self-supporting "Techno-Service Center" has already been organized on the basis of our technical project institute. Responding to orders from enterprises, it will work up programs of technical development, complete projects, and train personnel.

[Levitskiy] The ministry no longer exists. Did all of the specialists find work for themselves?

[Khalmyagi] About 20 persons are still without jobs. They have the right during the next 3 months to look for new work. This is proper: Time is needed in order to look around and to get psychologically prepared. I talked to each one of the "unemployed"—they turned down my help in job placement. I do not think anyone is offended. The ministry really outlived its usefulness.

Economic Impact of Falling Oil Prices Viewed

PM1411141389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by E. Guseynov: "The Oil Market Today, or How the Long Boom Ended"]

[Excerpts] "All expectations have been turned upside down." In February 1986 THE NEW YORK TIMES announced that oil prices had tumbled on world markets. In a matter of days the price of a tonne of oil dropped from $200 to $70-100. Today, 3 years on, it is still only $115-120 for a tonne of Dubayy oil, identical in quality to Soviet oil.... [passage omitted]

The price crisis had to happen. Primarily because since the midseventies people all over the world, particularly in the industrially developed countries of the West, have been working hard to reduce oil and energy consumption in general. [passage omitted]

Virtually since 1983 the oil-exporting countries, which were once wallowing in petrodollars, have barely made ends meet. Of the Near East oil exporters only Kuwait can balance its books at the moment; the others are forced to spend what they put by in the boom years. In 1988 alone the OPEC countries' oil exports fell by a total of $100 billion. This not only aggravates economic problems but increases tensions in the social sphere and in international relations. The OPEC countries are having no success at all, despite all their efforts, in adopting concerted measures to maintain oil prices. Moreover, Iran and Iraq are preparing to enter the market after long being hampered by the war. Saudi Arabia is planning to increase production. So prices are hardly likely to increase in the immediate future.

So we, too, are going to have to think again. Falling prices mean that one cannot expect oil exports to come to the aid of perestroyka, as they once rescued stagnation. So there can only be one answer: Energy economy—thus saving the money we were intending to spend on the construction of large stations and the development of new fields—while remaining aware that it is not simply a matter of recognizing the present economic difficulties but also of the demands made by the modern, technological civilization which we are endeavoring not to lag behind.

Industry Fails To Assimilate Imported Equipment

PM1511142989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov article under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Bought and Forgotten?"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has published the full list of new imported equipment accumulated at our enterprise and construction project depots (according to a census carried out 1 January of this year).

Bismarck's words—"Only fools learn from their own mistakes, clever people learn from other people's mistakes"—were cited at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Having read the State Committee for Statistics report, you feel like exclaiming: From whose mistakes are we learning? Indeed, are we learning at all?

How can anyone claim that we are poor, that we have nothing? This is not true. We are very rich. We have everything that any industrial sector, any person might need.

For instance light industry equipment. Here we are—3,500 units worth R105.6 million. (In 1981 these stocks totaled 2,200 units and R59.9 million respectively.)

Or take complete sets of equipment for the food industry (allow me to recall—imported equipment): We have it! Some 133 sets worth R175.1 million.

Maybe we need metal-cutting tools? Allow me to tell you: We have R169.9 million worth of this equipment (in 1981 it was R152.9 million).

Here a natural question is bound to arise: The census was carried out at the beginning of the year, a lot of time has passed since then.... True, a lot of time has passed. But here is another piece of statistical information: Of the 100 percent of equipment stored at depots and awaiting installation, 8.3 percent has been there since 1983 or longer. That is almost 7 years! The figure for the agro-industrial complex is 6.9 percent, that for the metallurgical complex is 17 percent, and that for the chemical and timber complex is 18.2 percent....

What has happened, has it been bought and forgotten?

No, it is not that simple. Where is the equipment bought for foreign currency to be stored? There are no facilities. We already know that this year's capital construction commissioning program is in jeopardy. A total of R68.5 billion of state centralized investments were assimilated during January-September this year. This is 67 percent of the annual quota. Enterprises and organizations utilized R62.8 billion of their own funds. Their share in the total volume of capital investment in the national economy amounted to 48 percent and the level of assimilation of the allocated funds is approximately the same—68 percent.

What are the reasons for this? They have been discussed for years. They are the evidence of our mistakes, from which no one wants to learn anything under any circumstances.

The result is that the volume of unfinished construction reached R204.1 billion by 1 October. This is 15 percent more than on the same date last year.

How can we be poor if, having spent more than R200 billion, we are resigned to the fact that this money produces no return? If we are resigned to the fact that dollars, deutschmarks, and Soviet rubles have been sunk into this? Meanwhile we all know that the deficiencies of the investment process are fraught with at least two consequences. The first is shortcomings in the implementation of social programs. Actual fulfillment of the annual plan for housing construction over the past 9 months totals only 53 percent.

The second consequence is the deterioration of the country's financial situation. You will remember that cuts in investments in group "A" and the shortening of the investment cycle in group "B" were viewed as one of the key factors in improving the country's financial position!

It was no accident that so much attention was devoted to the investment process at the conference of leading economists at the CPSU Central Committee. Let's recall just one of the speeches, delivered by N.Ya. Petrakov, USSR people's deputy, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economics and Mathematics Institute, and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He stressed, among other things, that, given the prevailing imbalance between supply and demand in the investment sphere, the automatic increase in noncentralized capital investments from economically accountable sources will lead to a new upsurge in unfinished projects, to an unchecked redistribution of resources which are already in short supply, to neverending construction projects compounded by proliferating construction projects....

Alas, the situation is still one of neverending construction projects compounded by proliferating construction projects.

Preliminary 1989 Census Data Published

Population by Nationality and Language

18150104A Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 19 Sept 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Preliminary Data Based on the 1989 Census: Distribution of USSR Population by Nationality and Language"]

[Text]

Distribution of USSR Population by Nationality and Language (Preliminary Data Based on the 1989 Census)

				National total		
	Total number of people per nationality				Fluent in Another Language	
	1979	1989	1989 % 1979	Those who consider the national language their native language	Russian	Other USSR languages
Total population	262,084,654	285,688,965	109.0	92.7	24.2	5.3
Russians	137,397,089	145,071,550	105.6	99.8	0.1	4.0
Ukrainians	42,347,387	44,135,989	104.2	81.1	56.2	8.5
Belorussians	9,462,715	10,030,441	106.0	70.9	54.7	11.7
Uzbeks	12,455,978	16,686,240	134.0	98.3	23.8	3.7
Kazakhs	6,556,442	8,137,878	124.1	97.0	60.4	2.9
Georgians	3,570,504	3,983,115	111.6	98.2	33.1	1.0
Azerbaijanis	5,477,330	6,791,106	124.0	97.6	34.4	2.2
Lithuanians	2,850,905	3,068,296	107.6	97.7	37.9	1.6
Moldavians	2,968,224	3,355,240	113.0	91.6	53.8	4.4
Latvians	1,439,037	1,459,156	101.4	94.8	64.4	2.5
Kirghiz	1,906,271	2,530,998	132.8	97.8	35.2	4.6
Tajiks	2,897,697	4,216,693	145.5	97.7	27.7	12.2
Armenians	4,151,241	4,627,227	111.5	91.6	47.1	5.0
Turkmens	2,027,913	2,718,297	134.0	98.5	27.8	2.0
Estonians	1,019,851	1,027,255	100.7	95.5	33.8	2.0

Estonian Population by Nationality and Language

18150104B Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 19 Sept 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Preliminary Data Based on the 1989 Census: Estonian SSR Population Distribution by Nationality and Language"]

[Text]

Distribution of Estonian SSR Population by Nationality and Language

				National total			
	Total number of people per nationality				Fluent in another language		
	1979	1989	1989 % 1979	Those who consider the national language their native language	Russian	Estonian	Other USSR languages
Total population	1,464,476	1,565,662	106.9	94.0	24.1	5.5	1.9
Estonians	947,812	963,269	101.6	98.9	33.6	0.6	0.3

Distribution of Estonian SSR Population by Nationality and Language (Continued)

				National total			
	Total number of people per nationality				Fluent in another language		
	1979	1989	1989 % 1979	Those who consider the national language their native language	Russian	Estonian	Other USSR languages
Russians	408,778	474,815	116.2	98.6	1.1	13.7	1.6
Ukrainians	36,044	48,273	133.9	44.2	39.7	6.9	19.0
Belorussians	23,461	27,711	118.1	31.9	29.9	6.1	18.1
Uzbeks	397	595	149.9	73.3	64.4	2.2	8.7
Kazakhs	226	424	187.6	73.8	64.4	2.8	6.6
Georgians	450	606	134.7	53.6	49.0	10.1	9.6
Azerbaijanis	543	1,238	2.3x	70.2	57.3	3.9	8.2
Lithuanians	2,379	2,568	107.9	62.7	56.3	12.6	11.4
Moldavians	738	1,215	164.6	54.6	51.9	5.0	14.0
Latvians	3,963	3,135	79.1	57.2	42.6	21.5	14.6
Kirghiz	46	81	176.1	75.3	65.4	1.2	12.3
Tajiks	52	113	2.2x	58.4	57.5	7.1	8.8
Armenians	845	1,669	197.5	50.1	44.7	8.4	13.7
Turkmens	66	106	160.6	74.5	71.7	3.8	7.5
Avars	28	69	2.5x	69.6	63.8	1.4	7.2
Bashkirs	332	371	111.7	50.1	53.6	3.0	15.1
Buryats	27	53	196.3	60.4	47.2	5.7	9.4
Karelians	773	881	114.0	29.7	29.9	13.6	17.0
Komi	139	196	141.0	33.7	31.6	6.1	19.9
Lezgins	67	178	2.7x	69.7	62.9	1.7	12.4
Mari	191	359	188.0	50.7	47.9	6.1	12.5
Mordvinians	723	985	136.2	37.3	35.3	6.7	15.5
Ossetians	161	201	124.8	42.3	42.8	7.0	15.9
Tatars	3,195	4,058	127.0	55.4	51.2	6.3	13.7
Udmurts	309	413	133.7	37.0	35.6	3.9	13.1
Chuvash	804	1,163	144.7	47.5	45.0	5.3	15.7
Jews	4,954	4,613	93.1	12.4	13.0	26.1	14.7
Gagauz	41	69	168.3	47.8	46.4	2.9	15.9
Izhora	228	306	134.2	24.2	32.7	22.9	11.8
Gypsies	529	665	125.7	69.9	44.8	26.3	8.9
Bulgarians	190	262	137.9	32.4	31.7	8.4	6.9
Hungarians	191	241	126.2	62.2	50.6	19.1	10.0
Greeks	104	182	175.0	15.4	15.4	7.1	17.0
Koreans	103	202	196.1	14.9	13.9	7.4	3.0
Germans	3,944	3,466	87.9	36.0	35.5	14.7	1.1
Poles	2,897	3,008	103.8	20.0	29.0	13.2	12.7
Romanians	47	88	187.2	42.0	54.5	4.5	11.4
Finns	17,753	16,622	93.6	31.0	38.9	33.3	0.5

Territorial Distribution of Republic Ethnic Groups

18150104C Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 19 Sept 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Preliminary Data Based on the 1989 Census: Territorial Distribution of Union Republic Ethnic Groups"]

[Text]

Territorial Distribution of Union Republic Ethnic Groups

	1979		1989	
	Number of people	% of total	Number of people	% of total
RUSSIANS	137,397,089	100	145,071,550	100
Their numbers living in:				
RSFSR	113,521,881	82.6	119,807,165	82.6
Ukrainian SSR	10,471,602	7.6	11,340,250	7.8
Belorussian SSR	1,134,117	0.8	1,341,055	0.9
Uzbek SSR	1,665,658	1.2	1,653,179	1.1
Kazakh SSR	5,991,205	4.4	6,226,400	4.3
Georgian SSR	371,608	0.3	338,645	0.2
Azerbaijan SSR	475,255	0.3	392,303	0.3
Lithuanian SSR	303,493	0.2	343,597	0.2
Moldavian SSR	505,730	0.4	560,423	0.4
Latvian SSR	821,464	0.6	905,515	0.6
Kirghiz SSR	911,703	0.7	916,543	0.6
Tajik SSR	395,089	0.3	386,630	0.3
Armenian SSR	70,336	0.05	51,553	0.04
Turkmen SSR	349,170	0.25	334,477	0.23
Estonian SSR	408,778	0.3	474,815	0.3
UKRAINIANS	42,374,387	100	44,135,989	100
Their numbers living in:				
Ukrainian SSR	36,488,951	86.2	37,370,368	84.7
RSFSR	3,657,647	8.6	4,363,992	9.9
Belorussian SSR	230,985	0.5	290,368	0.7
Uzbek SSR	113,826	0.3	154,105	0.3
Kazakh SSR	897,964	2.1	895,964	2.0
Georgian SSR	45,036	0.1	51,472	0.1
Azerbaijan SSR	26,402	0.06	32,344	0.07
Lithuanian SSR	31,982	0.08	44,397	0.1
Moldavian SSR	560,679	1.3	599,777	1.4
Latvian SSR	66,703	0.16	92,101	0.21
Kirghiz SSR	109,324	0.3	108,027	0.2
Tajik SSR	35,826	0.08	40,646	0.09
Armenian SSR	8,900	0.02	8,341	0.02
Turkmen SSR	37,118	0.1	35,814	0.1
Estonian SSR	36,044	0.1	48,273	0.1
ESTONIANS	1,019,851	100	1,027,255	100
Their numbers living in:				
Estonian SSR	947,812	92.9	963,269	93.8
RSFSR	55,539	5.4	46,358	4.5
Ukrainian SSR	4,111	0.4	4,208	0.4
Belorussian SSR	742	0.1	797	0.1
Uzbek SSR	1,064	0.1	948	0.1
Kazakh SSR	3,505	0.3	3,397	0.3
Georgian SSR	1,625	0.2	2,312	0.2
Azerbaijan SSR	167	0.02	324	0.03
Lithuanian SSR	546	0.05	598	0.06
Moldavian SSR	249	0.02	276	0.03
Latvian SSR	3,681	0.4	3,312	0.3
Kirghiz SSR	447	0.04	430	0.04
Tajik SSR	168	0.02	171	0.02
Armenian SSR	55	0.01	295	0.03
Turkmen SSR	140	0.01	560	0.05

Agricultural

'Negative Consequences' of Grain Imports Debated

90UI0088C Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by A. Sizov, senior research associate of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Incantations and Reality"]

[Text] These are two letters and two attitudes.... The entire apparent dissimilarity of their style and spirit notwithstanding, they quite unexpectedly bring us to the same burning issue of ours—the role of the command-administrative system. Strange as it may be, I hear a requiem for it in both letters.

It is quite difficult to embark on a discussion with the former foreign trade specialist. The tone of the letter is not the only reason. It is difficult to explain yourself to a person who lumps everything together. For example, I said that as the imports of grain mounted the scope of activities of the former Ministry of Foreign Trade grew abruptly and ministerial interests began to take hold, and my opponent proclaimed "This is absolutely false!." He went on to describe extensively difficulties with the export (!) of buckwheat husk, small fish for dry-curing, and so on.

Accusing the participants of the panel of "idle talk" when they stress the need for target-oriented reductions in the import of grain, the respected author of the letter does not even notice that his angry tirades are not properly addressed. Essentially, he says the same thing: "The issue of grain supply needs to be resolved here, inside the country. We are capable of that!" I am also enthusiastically in favor of this! However, unlike the former employee of foreign trade, I believe that many problems of our grain economy are largely a consequence of our parasitic reliance on imports which we need to get rid of. In his turn, Gorshkov (unfortunately, I do not know his name and patronymic) prefers recipes of this type: Let us immediately reign in our mismanagement; let us ensure the harvesting, processing, and storage of all grain collected; the issues need to be resolved in a complex; we should do business, and so on. Well, these are interesting ideas, but they smack of incantations too much.

Meanwhile, many statements by the author of the letter do nothing else but bolster the point of view of panel participants on the negative consequences of massive grain imports for domestic production. In particular, my opponent observes that when the "Eksportkhleb" was indeed true to its name, i.e., was engaged in exports, particular significance was attached to the issue of quality of our wheat by, among others, the former Minzag [Ministry of Grain Products]. However, having mentioned this argument, we cannot fail to agree with another, quite obvious one: Having switched to continuous grain imports going into millions of tons, we neglected our own production of high-quality grain.

I believe that it is no accident that things in the letter obviously do not add up. This is the result of many years of evaluating the events through "a keyhole." Conclusions are drawn on the basis of considering only the segment of a phenomenon which happened to be in the field of vision rather than on the basis of cause-and-effect links or even the consideration of an isolated phenomenon in its entirety. The reference of the author of the letter to a major transaction in which the Americans supposedly lost a billion dollars is a characteristic example. Indeed, such a transaction occurred in 1972. If I am not mistaken, nothing was reported on it in the open press of our country while in the West more than enough was. The essence of the transaction was as follows: As a result of behind-the-scenes talks with a number of American grain-trading companies and concealing the real volume of purchases, foreign trade employees managed to buy major quantities of grain at reduced prices. If we look at it through "the keyhole" all of this looks kind of glorious: We saved hard currency, we provided overseas bread for our country, and "duped" the Americans into the bargain. However, one is not inclined to cry "hooray!" If we look at the consequences of this transaction we will come to understand that it did us truly boundless harm in terms of immediate economics and our foreign policy. This "grain robbery" (it was referred to as such in the Western press) became one of the factors of disorganization in the then extremely unstable grain market. When the extent of our import purchases became obvious panic buying began, and it caused world prices to soar. Within several months, prices soared by a factor of 2 to 3. It is hard to say how much hard currency we wasted purchasing grain in the environment of rapid price growth which we so "skillfully" facilitated. In any event, we lost considerably more than we had won. Moreover, the Government of the United States imposed strict controls on our operations in the American market. This restricted the field for purely commercial maneuvers and, correspondingly, the opportunity to save hard currency.

This transaction also damaged perceptibly the international prestige of the USSR. It turned out that the country, whose leaders had for many years referred to the foodstuffs problem in the Soviet Union as solved on the basis of sovkhoz [state farm] and kolkhoz [collective farm] development, resorts to very dubious foreign trade transactions. The issue here is not that our halo of a mighty agrarian power faded immediately. These purchases, having contributed greatly to the increase of world prices for farm goods, seriously exacerbated the food situation of a large group of developing countries for whom imports of foodstuffs are literally a matter of life and death for millions of people. As a result, a serious reason was provided for the means of propaganda of Western countries and many representatives of the "Third World" to count the Soviet Union among the culprits of the world foodstuffs crisis of 1972-1974. Therefore, the transaction which the author of the letter refers to indeed gained notoriety, but in a completely different sense of the word.

I think that the author of the letter is an honest and sincere person. He indeed fought for saving every kopeck, and has taken, and is taking to heart the honor of our country which he quite naturally equates with the honor of his former ministry. He interprets critical remarks of any kind concerning his ministry as personal because our author has always perceived himself as a part of the mechanism of this ministry. His letter is first of all an accusation leveled at the system which did not allow people to be persons whose judgment, opinions, and actions are independent....

It is not the declarations of Gorshkov that "the system is not at issue" and that "the system which existed earlier conformed to the needs of the state" that are important to me in his letter. The main point is that he already understands that this system, in his own words, made it possible for rascals to be at the top, and that it functioned in the worst possible way. All of it is a sign that we are gradually walking out of darkness and beginning to get accustomed to light.

As far as the letter by Peter (Marcy) is concerned, to my mind, it provides a basis for some generalizations and corrections rather than a discussion. The American businessman is absolutely right when he points to fodder imbalances as one of the reasons for the low efficiency of our animal husbandry. On the average, the use of fodder per unit of output of animal husbandry products in our country is twice as high as in the United States. This gap is not only failing to close but it is growing instead. At issue is not only the lack of balance in feed, but also the profound lack of correspondence between the volume of fodder production and the number of head of cattle and poultry. On the average, the use of fodder in our country is 30 to 35 percent below necessary zootechnical standards. What kind of weight increments and milk yields can we have if, due to continuously inadequate rations, we get approximately 1.5 times less milk than we otherwise could give the existing number of dairy cows and their productive potential?

All of this is quite well known. However, we can hardly entirely agree that "the use of concentrated feed is the quickest and most efficient way of solving the most acute foodstuffs problems which the Soviet Union is encountering," as Peter (Marcy) believes. The technical and economic aspects of the fodder problem, and along with it of the problem of turning out meat and dairy products, are a consequence of considerably broader sociopolitical problems in rural areas.

Here is a simple example. Would a genuine master keep cattle if he could only give it subsistence rations? He would not. Why should he keep a cow whose milk yield is like that of a goat? It would be better to acquire a goat. Our kolkhozes and sovkhozes by and large keep such cows. Last year, cows yielded less than 2,000 kilograms of milk at one farm in seven. This is not their fault but rather their misfortune.

What was the command-and-allocation system of management in agriculture based on? On the concentration of food, fodder, and material-financial resources in the center. He who controls the resources also "orders the music," that is, determines what and where to plant, what cattle to keep and how many head, and so on. As they say, he who giveth also taketh away. It is also true that the hand of the giver is ever generous but the farms do not get richer by virtue of this.

To be sure, under Stalin the operation of this system was in keeping primarily with political tasks associated with the reinforcement of the system itself. However, it has long become obvious that the state has assumed a burden of feeding not only its people but also the cattle which was too heavy for it. After all, it is only in a song that they say: "I can see everything from up above, and you should know this." It is different in real economic life. Otherwise we would not have the disproportions in agricultural production which we encounter today.

Nonetheless, we are retreating from the command-and-allotment system ever so carefully. We take a step, and a pause follows which is filled with the glorification of the development of kolkhozes and sovkhozes as if disregarding the fact that in its present form it is a creature of the Stalinist system. We take another step, and there again is a pause during which a cheerful voice proclaims that the party has assumed an historic responsibility for resolving the foodstuffs problem. Could it be that we would do better if we entrust this responsibility to a peasant having released him from the shackles of commands and allotments? Perhaps, in this case the state will not provision the peasant and his cattle but instead the peasant will feed both the country and his cattle, as has always been the case and still is throughout the world?

Why are we retreating from this system so slowly? I believe that one of the reasons is associated with a dogmatic belief in the advantages of centralized planning and, correspondingly, the fear of economic industry of the "grassroots." The following type of logic applies: "If only you let them they will begin to grow bananas, and what we need is to feed the country." The "we" denotes far-sighted officials who care for the people. Bananas will not be grown if the state is going to sell them at 2 rubles a kilogram. However, at, say, 50 rubles a kilogram this is quite possible provided there is demand. Everything depends on specific economic conditions which are flexibly set by the economic policy of the state. If there is going to be such a policy there will be guaranteed centralized procurement of the farm products needed.

Other reasons are associated with obvious mundane considerations. If everyone is going to work without commands and allotments what will the officials do then who have lived well off instructions, reports, and accounts?

At present, our entire life is at a turning point from which there is no way back, and just a way forward. From among the new laws which will hopefully take effect soon the laws on leasing, on the land, and on socialist enterprises are particularly important for the agricultural sector. Their adoption would amount to a fatal blow at the system.

What do they specifically offer to you, Peter (Marcy), provided, of course, that dealing with the Gosagroprom has not robbed you of your desire to cooperate with "those" Russians? I hope that as soon as these laws take effect you will not have to climb the ministerial Olympus and prove to the officials that your products are necessary for Soviet agriculture. The farms themselves which will decide which cattle to keep and how many head will determine how effective and needed your products are. In the process, the farms may turn out to be considerably tougher examiners of your products than a Gosagroprom official—tougher, but more businesslike. Judging by our acquaintance through the press, you, Peter, are a person with a knack for business. People who are interested and concerned about their business quickly find a common ground.

Military

Akhromeyev Interviewed on Military Doctrine

AU1511084989 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9 Nov 8 p 4

[NOVOSTI "exclusive" interview with Soviet Marshal Sergey Federovich Akhromeyev by V. Pogrebenkov, military correspondent: "The Doctrine of a New Policy"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Pogrebenkov] Sergey Federovich, you are one of those military leaders who was directly involved in formulating the new Soviet military doctrine. Could the doctrine have emerged without the new form of political thinking?

[Akhromeyev] There is a direct link between the new form of political thinking and the defense doctrine. The need for a new military doctrine arises in a state when that state begins to pursue new domestic and foreign policies. As long as there are no new policies, there can be no new military doctrine. There is a practical need for the doctrine. Following the change in the party and government leadership in 1985, new domestic and foreign policies that gained social acceptance were formulated over the years 1985-87. An objective need for the formulation of a new military doctrine arose.

[Pogrebenkov] What is the essence of the new foreign policy?

[Akhromeyev] Briefly, the essence of the new policy can be described with the help of three parameters. First, demilitarization, which entails the removal of force from the foreign policy arsenal. This fundamental principle has already received practical affirmation in our relations with all states, regardless of the social systems that they have. This has led to enormous positive changes in the international situation. Of course, we are acting in this way because force is also not being employed in foreign policy with regard to us.

The second point involves democratization, developing relations with all states, both large and small, on the basis of equality, and third, the removal of ideological factors from international relations. International relations should be based exclusively on international law.

These fundamental decisions have led to basic changes in our foreign policy. The military doctrine that we were guided by until the middle of the 1980's did not fully accord with the new policy. That is why a new military doctrine was formulated in the USSR and the Warsaw Pact during the years 1985-87. The doctrine was published in May 1987. It has been binding on the USSR Armed Forces since that time.

[Pogrebenkov] The doctrine "has been working" for more than 2 years. Have any "bottlenecks" appeared during that time?

[Akhromeyev] I do not see anything of that kind in the doctrine. The theoretical foundations of the doctrine have already been worked out quite well. The military-political part of it stems from our foreign policy. It does not see an enemy in any state or in any people, and it does not make any territorial demands on anyone.

Of course, certain problems do arise. Nevertheless, these principles essentially constitute the essence of the military-political part of the doctrine and our foreign policy.

If I were to talk about the military-technical aspect of the doctrine, I would say that it is completely changeable. This is because it directly depends on the military-political situation. I do not see any bottlenecks in this respect at the moment. The military-technical aspect of the doctrine should provide an answer to four main questions. Who is a likely enemy for the country that worked out the doctrine? What armed forces are needed in connection with this? What type of aggression has to be taken into account in making preparations to repulse aggression? How should armed forces be prepared to repel aggression? Our doctrine provides an answer to all these questions.

However, abroad, doubts are often expressed about the content of the doctrine. It is not charged that we have not worked out the doctrine sufficiently, but that we appear to be saying one thing and doing something different. Statements of this sort do not correspond to the truth. The USSR says what it is doing. At the same time, we are doing rather more to reduce tension than others.

[Pogrebenkov] To return to the question of who may be a potential enemy for our country? Can this be expressed in more concrete terms? Who is our probable enemy?

[Akhromeyev] We do not provide the answer to that question. It is provided by those who consider us a potential enemy. Have a look at the statements made by the leaders of some of the NATO states, beginning with President Bush, Secretary of State Baker, and Defense Secretary Cheney. NATO leaders make statements in the same vein. They call us their enemy quite clearly. That is why we also do not have to decide who our probable enemy is. After all, that is how he describes himself. This applies to the United States and to the NATO bloc.

[Pogrebenkov] Does the Soviet doctrine provide for the conduct of military operations outside the borders of the USSR?

[Akhromeyev] In line with the postwar decisions made by the USSR, the United States, and Great Britain, and in accordance with the terms of the Warsaw Pact and bilateral treaties, Soviet forces are stationed on the territory of Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states that the first large-scale operations that we may engage in will be of a purely defensive kind, aimed at repelling aggression. I think that these operations will last long enough—they may last several weeks. We imagine that during this period the Warsaw Pact political leadership will take steps aimed at localizing the conflict and preventing the unleashing of a full-scale war. However, if it does not become possible to resolve the conflict by employing political means, then it is difficult at the present time to imagine how events would develop. Both sides would develop their armed forces in accordance with their plans for wartime.

[Pogrebenkov] Do you think that the people in the states of the West have grounds for being concerned about the implementation of our defense doctrine?

[Akhromeyev] The NATO states continue to be guided by the outdated doctrines of "flexible response" and "nuclear deterrence." The leadership of that bloc does not want to make changes to its doctrine. It is seeking to compromise our doctrine in order to justify its actions. These are deliberate actions. After all, to a great extent what NATO says does not correspond to what it does. The political leaders of the leading NATO states praise the USSR for democratization, openness, and for its foreign policy.

They say that it is a correct policy and that they accept it. However, when they view military-political problems, the very same leaders say that the USSR is hardly reducing its weapons at all, that it is preserving its great military superiority over NATO. However, this does not correspond to the truth. This leads to the false conclusion that NATO should not reduce its armed forces, but continue to expand them.

Why is this happening? Is what we are doing to reduce our armed forces and to normalize the situation in the world not known? It is widely known. The point is that these states should take similar action in response to our moves, but they do not want to do that. This is very apparent for a number of reasons, an explanation of which would go beyond the scope of our conversation.

There really are a lot of reasons. Perhaps the most important ones should be mentioned. Why does the West not agree to a comparison of both doctrines?

If one were to conduct a frank and careful comparison of the NATO and Warsaw Pact doctrines and, at the same time, compare what the two sides have done in practice, it would transpire that NATO is continuing to arm itself. This is where the essence of the problem most obviously resides.

[Pogrebenkov] On the one hand, we have adopted a defensive doctrine and are placing the Soviet Armed Forces on new lines of military organization, and that is necessary. Yet the military threat to the USSR has not disappeared. On the other hand, as was recently said at the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, we are reducing our military budget. Is this not contradictory?

[Akhromeyev] One always encounters various contradictions everywhere in life. All that matters is that decisions take account of these contradictions. Actually, the military threat has significantly diminished over the last 4 years. That is a fact. To be honest, it has to be said that efforts have been made by both sides—the United States and the USSR, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This made it possible to reduce forces and weapons. This is something that we need, especially now, in view of the difficult economic situation in the country. However, at the same time one should view the situation in the world realistically. After all, as you said, the threat of war continues to exist for the Soviet Union. This will remain so as long as the United States and the NATO states retain might as the basis of their foreign policy. Only as long as we are quite strong ourselves can we talk as equals to a partner whose relations with us are guided by a policy based on strength. This is not, as it may appear, incompatible with what I said earlier about the demilitarization of our foreign policy. We have removed force from our foreign relations with all those who do not use force against us. However, those who make strength the cornerstone of their foreign policy force us to act in the same way. That is why we have to maintain our defense capability at an appropriate level. A reduced budget reflects the dialectic of the development of the military-political situation in the world. In maintaining our defense capability at the essential minimum level, we should use every opportunity to reduce our military budget. So this is something that we will continue to do.